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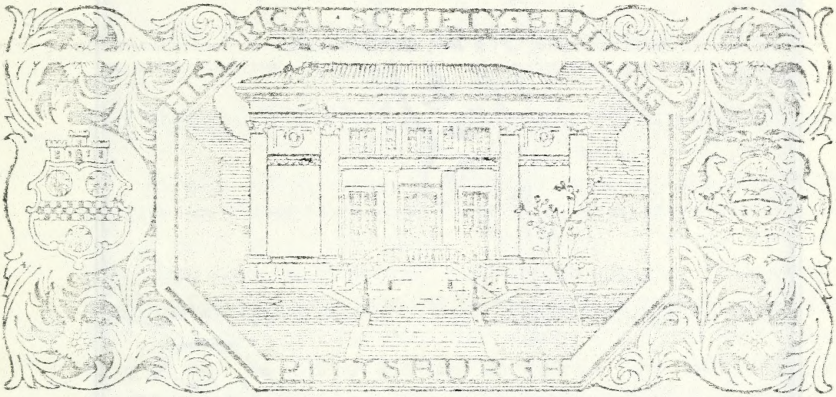

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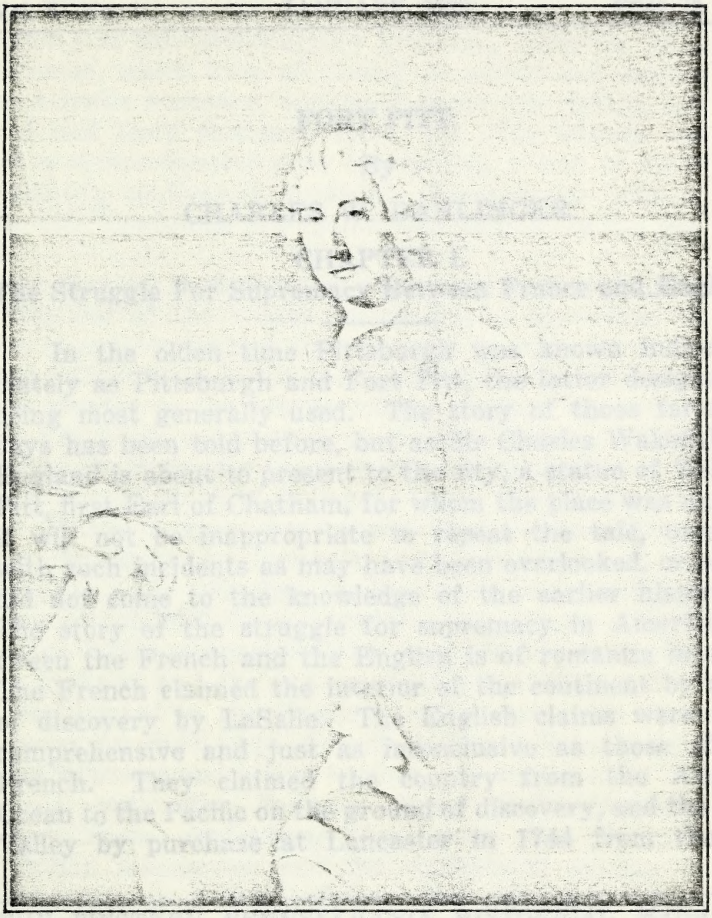

William Pitt.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 5 No. 1 JANUARY, 1922 Price 75 cents

FORT PITT.

By

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

CHAPTER I.

The Struggle For Supremacy Between France and England

In the olden time Pittsburgh was known indiscriminately as Pittsburgh and Fort Pitt, the latter designation being most generally used. The story of those far-away days has been told before, but as Sir Charles Wakefield of England is about to present to the city, a statue of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, for whom the place was named, it will not be inappropriate to repeat the tale, together with such incidents as may have been overlooked, or which did not come to the knowledge of the earlier historians. The story of the struggle for supremacy in America between the French and the English is of romantic interest. The French claimed the interior of the continent by right of discovery by LaSalle. The English claims were more comprehensive and just as inconclusive as those of the French. They claimed the country from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific on the ground of discovery, and the Ohio Valley by purchase at Lancaster in 1744 from the Six

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Nations, the ostensible owners. (1) The contest on the part of the French was hopeless from the beginning. Their settlements were widely scattered. Canada and Acadia, which last, had been ceded to England in 1713, were in the far north, while away to the south was Louisiana. The total population was only about eighty thousand, while the English Colonies, which were all closely connected and located on the Atlantic seaboard, numbered about one million one hundred and sixty thousand souls. (2) The French developed a comprehensive plan of building a line of forts from Canada southward, intended ultimately to connect Canada with Louisiana, and restrict the English to the seaboard.

Like that of most frontier communities, the story of Fort Pitt and of the village which sprang up within its shadow, is so intermingled, that in order to arrive at an intelligent understanding, the incidents connected with each must be treated as the history of the whole. The annals of Fort Pitt begin many years prior to its actual erection.

It was the desire for the possession of the Indian trade that first stirred the rival claimants to the Ohio Valley into action. It was a great fur country and was capable of drawing rich tributary currents from the region of the Great Lakes. (3) English traders were doing business there as early as 1730, French traders even earlier. At first the French had a monopoly of the fur trade, but the prices of furs declined and the Indians were dissatisfied and in 1747 they turned to the English traders who paid them more money for their furs. Conrad Weiser, a German, who had been a farmer and school teacher, (4) and in early life had lived with the Indians, spoke their language and had their confidence, was now the Pennsylvania Indian interpreter and the confidential adviser to the authorities in Indian affairs. He early learned of the discontent of the Indians with the French traders and saw an opportunity for enlarging the trade and influence of Pennsylvania, which information he imparted to the Provincial authorities. Accordingly in 1748 he was sent with presents to the Indians at Logstown, situated on the north side of the Ohio River, eighteen miles below the site of Pittsburgh, where he made a treaty and secured their

friendship for Pennsylvania. At the same time he gained for the Province the Indian trade from Logstown to the Mississippi River, and from the Ohio to the Michigan region. (5)

Virginia was also anxious for the Ohio Indian trade, and in 1748 there was formed by London merchants and a few leading men in Virginia, including Thomas Lee the President of the Council of the Colony, and two brothers of George Washington, the Ohio Company, to trade with the Indians and settle on their lands, Governor Dinwiddie becoming a partner at a later date. They obtained a grant from England of 500,000 acres of land on the south side of the Ohio River and sent Christopher Gist, a surveyor, into the country to explore and report on the same, his first journey being undertaken in 1751, and the other in 1752. On the second visit to the Indians Gist made a treaty with them at Logstown, where he secured their promise not to molest the company in its settlement of the lands. (6) The next year the Ohio Company made plans for building a fort and laying out a town on the hill immediately below the mouth of Chartiers Creek. (7)

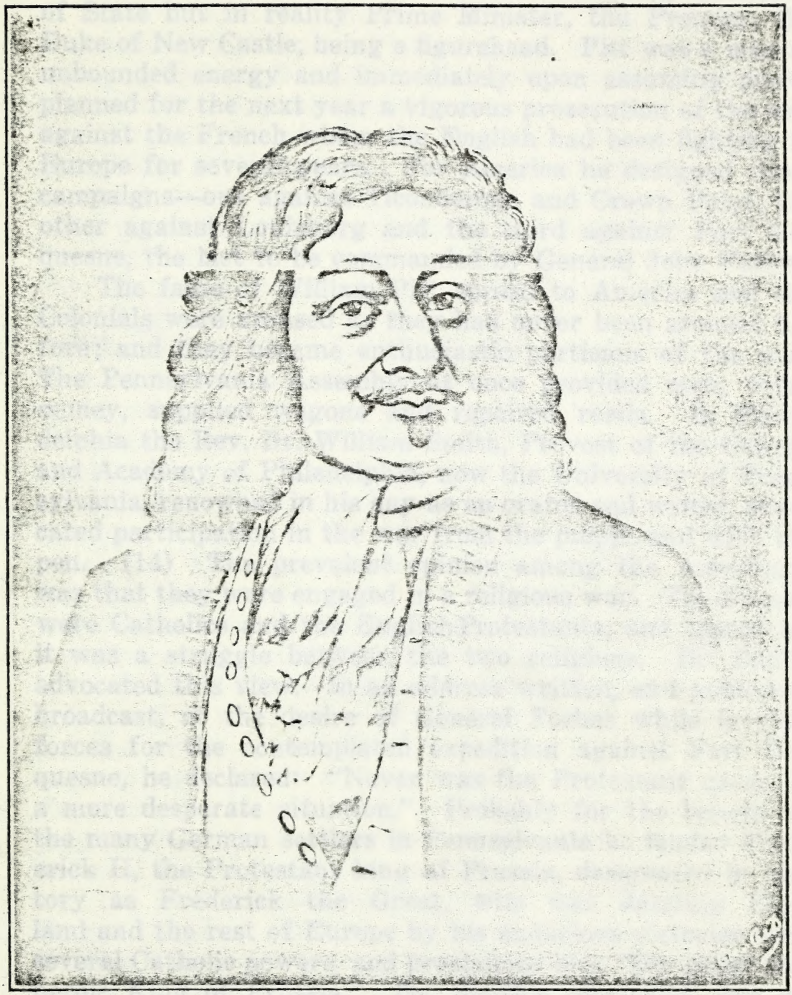
The French were not asleep while Weiser was weaning the Indians from their cause, and during the time that the Ohio Company was negotiating with them for permission to occupy their lands, but were preparing to assert their claims to the Ohio Country by some positive act. Accordingly, in 1749, they sent an expedition down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, under Captain de Celeron and took possession of the Ohio Valley in the name of the French king. The French carried the sword of conquest in one hand and the cross of salvation in the other; and the occupation of the Ohio country was both spiritual and political. The wooden crosses which DeCeleron erected along the Ohio River were intended to indicate that the country was dedicated to the Christian religion; the sovereignty of France was proclaimed by the burial of leaden plates reciting the story of the occupation. Priests and soldiers chanted the *Te Deum*, the hills and valleys rang with the cries of *Vive Le Roi*, and the country was part of New France.

The English soon learned of DeCeleron's expedition, but took no decisive measure to gain possession of the Ohio

Valley until 1754. Two years (8) before the French had begun building their series of forts southward and were contemplating the erection of a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Pennsylvania knew of this action of the French but did nothing to thwart them, although three of the forts already constructed were within the limits of that Province. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia was not so quiescent, being perhaps also influenced by his connection with the Ohio Company. First he sent George Washington, then twenty-one years of age, to interview the commandants of the French forts and ascertain their reasons for building the forts, but their only reply was that, "France was resolved on possessing the great territory which her missionaries and travellers had revealed to the world." (9) In the spring Dinwiddie, with the consent of Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, (10) sent a small force, hastily collected, to the confluence of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers where they began the erection of a fort in an effort to forestall the French, the place having been recommended by Washington as the most suitable for the purpose. This the Virginians called Fort Prince George (11) after the grandson of George the Second, king of England, the heir apparent to the throne and afterward King George the Third. Virginia also decided to raise a regiment of six companies, and in order to stimulate the military ardor of the people, Governor Dinwiddie issued a proclamation offering a bounty of two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio River, to be divided among those who would enlist for the proposed expedition. (12)

But the French were equally alert and by a movement from Canada which was Napoleonic in its rapidity (13) they appeared on April 17, 1754, in overwhelming force before the Virginians and compelled Ensign Ward, the officer in charge of the uncompleted works, to surrender, and themselves built a fort, which they named Fort Duquesne after the Marquis, Duquesne deMenneville, Governor-General of Canada. The next year the French annihilated the army of English and Provincials under Braddock, which had been sent to capture Fort Duquesne.

Then came a change in the English policy. The nation



Marquis Duquesne de Menneville.

was disheartened at the failure of its armies in Europe and America, and in 1757 with one voice called William Pitt, to form a ministry in which he became nominally Secretary of State but in reality Prime Minister, the Premier, the Duke of New Castle, being a figurehead. Pitt was a man of unbounded energy and immediately upon assuming power planned for the next year a vigorous prosecution of the war against the French whom the English had been fighting in Europe for several years. For America he designed three campaigns—one against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, another against Louisburg and the third against Fort Duquesne, the last to be commanded by General John Forbes.

The fame of William Pitt spread to America and the Colonials were aroused as they had never been aroused before; and they became enthusiastic partisans of the war. The Pennsylvania Assembly at once provided men, voted money, supplied wagons and repaired roads. In Philadelphia the Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, renowned in his day as an orator and writer, advocated participation in the war from the pulpit, and with his pen. (14) The prevalent opinion among the Americans was that they were engaged in a religious war. The French were Catholics and the English Protestants, and therefore it was a struggle between the two religions. Dr. Smith advocated this view. In an address written, and published broadcast, at the desire of General Forbes while levying forces for the contemplated expedition against Fort Duquesne, he declared: "Never was the Protestant cause in a more desperate situation." Probably for the benefit of the many German settlers in Pennsylvania he lauded Frederick II, the Protestant king of Prussia, designated in history as Frederick the Great, who was dazzling England and the rest of Europe by his audacious victories over several Catholic powers, and proclaimed him "The great and heroic King of Prussia." Dr. Smith's conclusion was an appeal to the patriotism of the Americans. "Rise then, my countrymen! as you value the blessings of the liberty you enjoy, and dread the evils that hang over you, rise and show yourselves worthy of the name of Britons!"

Pennsylvania responded nobly to the appeal, and sup-

plied nearly half the required force, not including waggoners and laborers. Colonel Henry Bouquet, a brilliant Swiss officer, and lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, was the second in command to Forbes. The campaign was opened in the spring by Colonel Bouquet setting out with the regulars on his march to Raystown which he reached early in June. The Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina troops were assembled at Winchester under Washington. Forbes marched from Philadelphia early in July. The campaign proceeded without mishap until September 14th when the army met with a serious setback at the very gate of Fort Duquesne, where Major James Grant was defeated and taken prisoner.

Emboldened by this victory the French with a large force of Indians determined to attack Bouquet at his camp on Loyalhanna Creek on October 12th, before the arrival of the force under General Forbes, but were defeated with considerable loss. The march was resumed. The weather turned cold and the mountains were white with snow; then the snow melted and the cold rains fell and the new road which had just been constructed became deep with mud. But the march continued. On November 24th the army was on the bank of Turtle Creek, within twelve miles of Fort Duquesne. In the evening the Indians reported seeing thick clouds of smoke rising over the fort; at midnight the dull sound of a distant explosion was heard. In the morning the army moved forward again and in the evening came in sight of the smoking ruins of the fort, and not a Frenchman to be seen. The goal was reached and the campaign ended. In thankfulness to the great minister who had sent him there, Forbes named the ruins, "Pittsburgh".

The next day was Sunday and by direction of General Forbes the Rev. Charles Beatty, the chaplain of Colonel William Chapham's Pennsylvania Regiment, was ordered to preach "a thanksgiving sermon for the remarkable superiority of his Majesty's arms." (15) On the same day Forbes wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, reporting the capture of Fort Duquesne, the letter being dated "Fort Duquesne or now Pittsburgh," (16) this being the first time of which there is any record that the

name "Pittsburgh" was used. On the 27th Forbes notified William Pitt of the victory over the French, this letter being dated simply "Pittsburgh." He also gave Pitt this additional information: "I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort DuQuesne, as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirits that now makes us masters of the place." (17)

A flood of other letters must have been sent by the happy captors of the French stronghold describing the expedition, and telling of the taking of the fort and expressing the exhuberance of their joy over the event. Only a few, however, have been preserved, and these are mainly from officers of the expedition. Among those still in existence are two letters from Colonel Bouquet. To his friend, William Allen, the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, he wrote on November 25, 1758, the letter being dated at "Fort Duquesne" in which he told of the last days of the campaign, and (18) generously gave Forbes the credit for its happy ending. "After God," he said, "the success of the expedition is entirely due to the General."

The other letter written by Bouquet is the one he sent his friend, Miss Anne Willing of Philadelphia, whose cousin, Joseph Shippen, was in his command and was his intimate friend. This also was dated at Fort Duquesne on November 25th. He addressed his correspondent as "Dear Nancy." She has been described as a charming young lady to whom Bouquet was engaged to be married. "I have the satisfaction to give you the agreeable news of the conquest of this terrible Fort," he began. "The French seized with a panic at our approach have destroyed themselves—the nest of pirates which has so long harboured the murderers and destructors of our poor people.

"They have burned and destroyed to the ground their fortifications, houses and magazines, and left us no other cover than heaven—a very cold one for an army without tents or equipages. We bear all this hardship with alacrity by the consideration of the immense advantage of this important acquisition." He concluded by telling her that he hoped soon to have the pleasure of seeing her when he would give her "a more particular account—chiefly about the beauty of this situation, which appears to me beyond

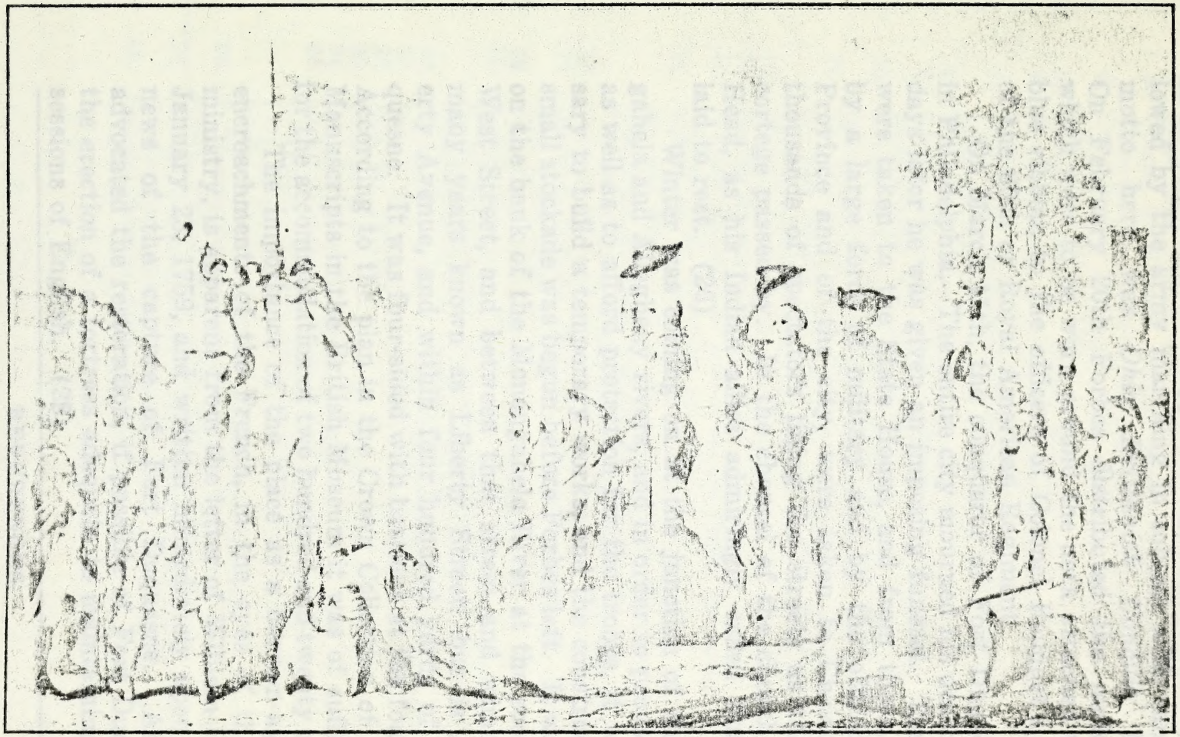
my description." (19)

Another letter of importance is that of George Washington, who wrote to Governor Farqieur of Virginia on November 28, 1758, from the "Camp at Fort Duquesne":

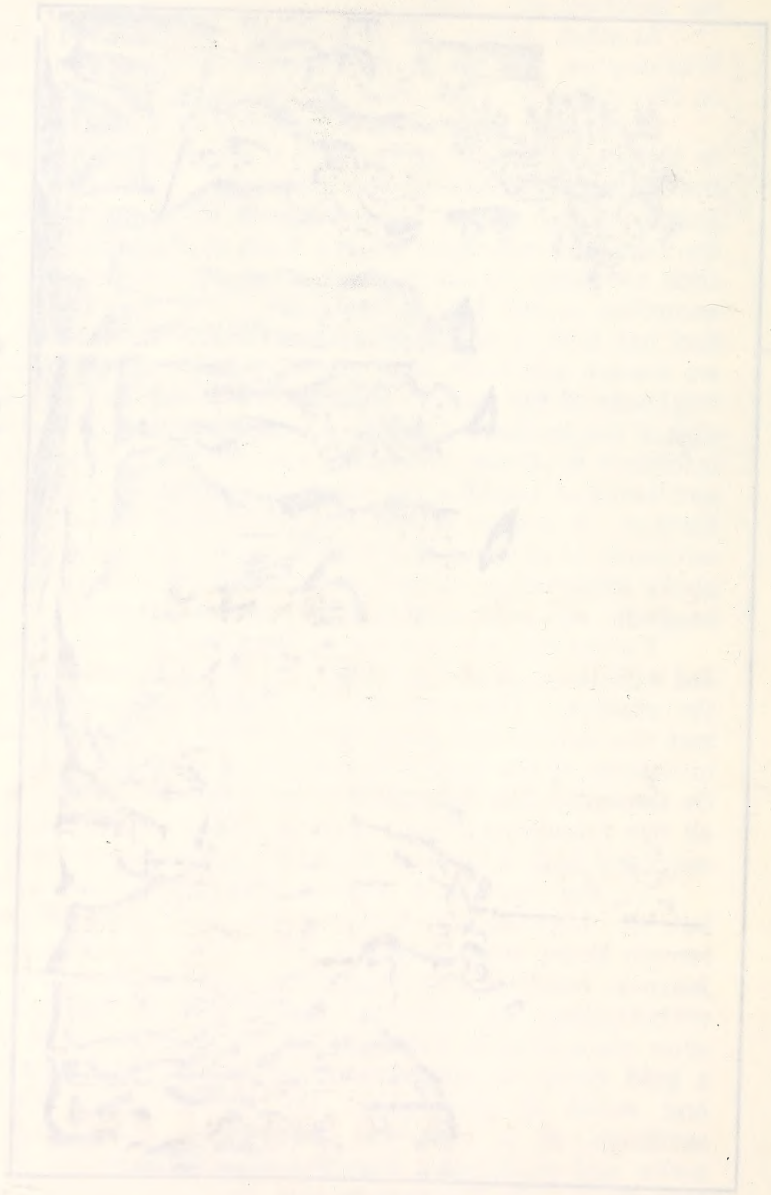
"I have the pleasure to inform you that Fort Duquesne, or rather the ground upon which it stood, was possessed by his Majesty's troops on the 25th inst. The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the fort, and ran away by the light of it, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred men, according to our best information. The possession of the fort has been a matter of surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes than the weakness of the enemy, want of provisions, and the defection of the Indians. Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by those prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands at Loyalhanna, when we despaired of proceeding farther. A council of war had determined that it was not advisable to advance this season beyond the place; but the above information caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with only a light train of artillery." (20)

Forbes left the junction of the two rivers on December 3rd with the bulk of the army, (21) Bouquet remaining with the residue. The next day as Forbes' representative he met the Indians and gave them Forbes' assurance that the intentions of the British toward them were peaceful. (22) On December 5th Bouquet followed Forbes (23) with nearly all the remaining troops leaving Colonel Hugh Mercer in command with a force of two hundred and eighty men. (24)

In the meantime Forbes was marching eastward, but at Ligonier he became ill, and was obliged to remain there until December 27th, when he continued his journey, reaching Philadelphia on January 17, 1759. Notwithstanding his continued illness, one of his first acts after his arrival in Philadelphia, was to cause to be struck a gold medal in commemoration of the campaign which had ended so gloriously. On one side was a representation of a road cut through a forest and over rocks and mountains, together with the motto, *Per tot Discrimina.* On the reverse side was a picture of the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers, with a fort



Raising the British Flag on the Ruins of Fort Duquesne



in flames, and Forbes approaching, carried on a litter, followed by the army marching in column with cannon; the motto here was *Ohio Brittanick Concilio Manuque.* On February 20th Forbes distributed the medals, (25) which were to be worn around the neck attached to a dark blue ribbon, to the officers of Colonel Bouquet's battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment.

On March 11th, the conqueror of Fort Duquesne died in Philadelphia. The entire city mourned his death and two days later he was given an imposing funeral. The remains were taken to the State House, and from there, escorted by a large force of military and by the officers of the Province and of the city, were taken to Christ Church, thousands of spectators lining the streets as the funeral cortege passed by. In the chancel of the church the Iron Head, as his Indian allies admiringly called Forbes, was laid to rest. (26)

Winter was coming on at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, and in order to provide shelter as well as to afford protection for the troops, it was necessary to build a temporary works, and the construction of a small stockade was begun before Forbes left. It was located on the bank of the Monongahela River at the south end of West Street, and between that street and what was for many years known as Liberty Street, but is now Liberty Avenue, and within four hundred yards of Fort Duquesne. It was four-sided with bastions at the four corners. According to the plan in the Crown Collection of Maps and Manuscripts in the British Museum it was of sufficient size for the accommodation of two hundred and twenty men. (27)

The importance of the place as a barrier against the encroachments of the French, in the eyes of the English ministry, is apparent from the letter of William Pitt, dated January 23, 1759, and written immediately upon receiving news of the capture of Fort Duquesne. Already he advocated the restoration, if possible of Fort Duquesne, or the erection of a fortress adequate to maintaining the possessions of English. (28)

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CHAPTER II.

The Collapse of French Rule in America, and the Rise of English Power in the Ohio Valley.

Forbes had been succeeded in the command of the English and Provincial troops in the Southern Department to which Pennsylvania belonged, by General John Stanwix (1) and Captain Harry Gordon who ranked as lieutenant in the First Battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, (2) was designated as chief engineer of the proposed fort. On August 6, 1759, Colonel Mercer wrote to Governor Denny that Captain Gordon had arrived with most of the artificers, but would not select a site for the new fort until the arrival of General Stanwix, and added, "We are preparing the materials for building with what expedition so few men are capable of." (3) Shortly afterward Stanwix arrived bringing with him materials and more skilled men and laborers, and on September 3, 1759, the work of building the fortress, advocated by Pitt, was commenced.

The plan of the fort, however, was not the work of Captain Gordon, but was made by Lieutenant Bernard Ratzer, an assistant engineer, also belonging to the First Battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment. (14) The original of this plan, like the plan of the temporary fort built along the Monongahela River, is preserved in the Crown Collection of Maps and Manuscripts in the British Museum. The 60th or Royal American Regiment, originally the 62nd or Royal American Regiment of Foot, had been authorized by an act of Parliament of November 5, 1755, which provided for raising a regiment among the German and Swiss settlers in America, and for the granting of commissions in this regiment to foreign Protestants who had served abroad as officers or engineers. The number of officers was never to exceed fifty and the engineers never to be more than twenty, and none were to be allowed to rise above the rank of lieutenant-colonel. (5) One of the requirements of the officers was that they must be able to speak the German language. Judging from Ratzer's name and because it appears in the list of officers of the battalion with nearly

a score of other lieutenants with German names, all of whom were commissioned at about the same time as Ratzer, he was a German. That he was a man of ability is apparent from the fact that in 1766 and 1767 he made a survey of the city of New York and a plan of the place, of which several editions were published. This plan, according to an eminent authority, is "the most accurate and reliable survey which we have of New York at this period and even today is much used in searching titles." (6) Ratzer remained in the English army for many years after the close of the French War, advancing to the rank of captain in 1773 and major in 1782. (7)

An interesting account of the happenings at the forks of the two rivers at this period was printed in the *American Magazine* of December, 1759, published at Woodbridge, New Jersey. (8) It is in the form of a letter, and is dated September 24, 1759. "It is now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most formidable fortification; such a one as will to latest posterity secure the British empire on the Ohio. There is no need to enumerate the abilities of the chief engineer, nor the spirit shown by the troops in executing this important task, the fort will soon be a lasting monument to both. Upon the General's arrival, about four hundred Indians of different nations came to confirm the peace with the English, particularly the Tawas and Wyandots, who inhabit about Fort D'Etroit. These confessed the errors they had been led into by the perfidy of the French; showed the deepest contrition for their past conduct, and promised not only to remain fast friends to the English, but to assist us in distressing the common enemy whenever we should call on them to do it. And all the nations which have been at variance with the English, said they would deliver up what prisoners they had in their hands to the General, at the grand meeting that is to be held in about three weeks. As soon as the Congress was ended the head of each nation presented the calumet of peace to the General, and showed every other token of sincerity that could be expected which the surrender of the prisoners will confirm. In this as in everything that can secure the lasting peace and happiness of these Colonies, the General is indefatigable."

On October 25, 1759, General Stanwix held another council with the Indians and told them that he insisted on their restoring the prisoners who were still in their possession. He also had Captain Montour, the interpreter, inform them that the city of Quebec had been captured by the English, who soon expected to drive the French out of America. The Indians then formally buried the hatchet and declared themselves fast friends of the English for all time. The chronicler of conference adds that "thereupon General Stanwix drank to the health of the Indians and the meeting dispersed." (9)

The work of building the fort went on throughout the summer and autumn, but was necessarily slow. The only material at hand was wood, which could be cut within a few hundred feet of the fort. Bricks had to be made, and to do this the proper clay must first be secured and thereafter kilns constructed for burning the bricks. Every other article needed in the construction of the fort was carried overland on packhorses, a distance of more than three hundred miles. It was therefore winter before the fort was well under way, and on December 8th, General Stanwix wrote to Governor Hamilton from the "Camp at Pittsburgh."

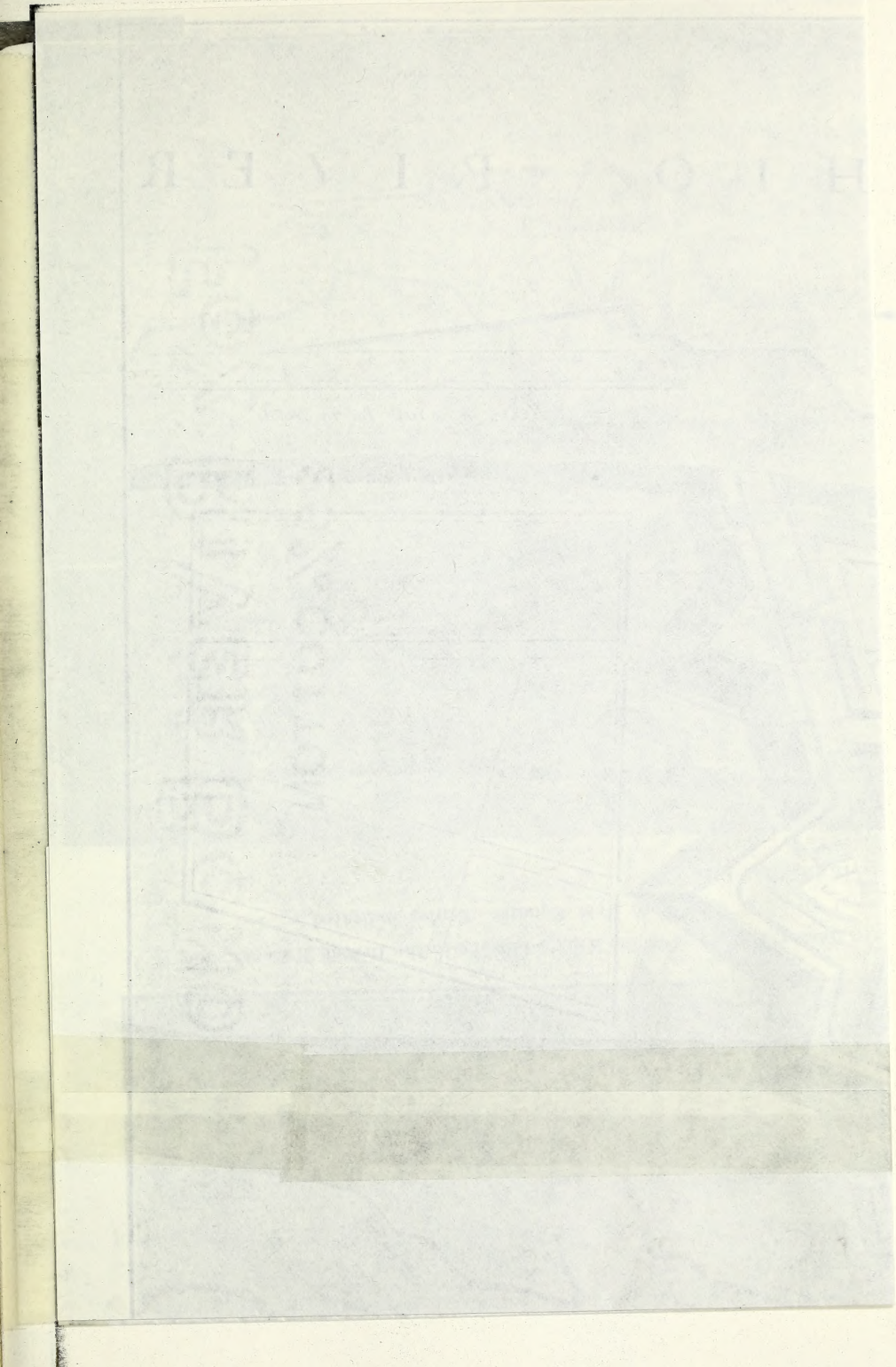
"The works here are near carried on to that degree of defence which was at first prepared for this year, so that I am now by degrees forming a winter garrison which is to consist of three hundred Provincials, one-half of whom are Pennsylvanians, the others Virginians, and four hundred of the First Battalion of the Royal American Regiment, the whole to be under the command of Major Tullikens when I leave it. These I hope I shall be able to cover well under good barracks and feed likewise for six months from the first of January, besides artillery, artificers and batteau men; Indians, too, must be fed, and they are not a few, who come and go and trade here." (10)

On December 24th, General Stanwix sent another letter to Governor Hamilton, this time dated "Pittsburgh," in which he wrote that he was making arrangements to have more troops at Fort Pitt in the following spring to assist in the construction of the fort; and that it could be completed during the next summer. (11)

After the fort was occupied, although far from finished, on March 21, 1760, General Stanwix left Fort Pitt for Philadelphia. On June 29th, General Robert Moncton, the chief officer of the department to which Fort Pitt belonged, called by Bancroft "the brave, open-hearted and liberal Moncton," who only the year before had been the second in command under Wolfe at the surrender of Quebec, came to the fort. (12) Almost immediately he began arranging to send a large force to Presqu' Isle (now Erie) to take possession of the upper posts as well as those along the frontiers as far as Detroit and Mackinaw; and on July 7th, Colonel Bouquet marched with five companies for Presqu' Isle, other troops following later. But the march was uneventful. The French, in order to reinforce the army which was being collected by them to oppose the English who were moving against Montreal, had withdrawn their forces, and when Bouquet reached Presqu' Isle on July 17th, he was enabled to take possession without resistance. It was at about this time that the first census of Pittsburgh was taken, the work being done by Colonel James Burd who arrived with his regiment of Pennsylvanians on July 6th. The enumeration was made on July 21st and it was found that the population, exclusive of the soldiers, was one hundred forty-nine. (13)

That the reputation with which Bancroft credits Moncton, was well deserved is evidenced by the consideration which he had for the Indians. Some of the Indian traders were unscrupulous in their dealings, and the Indians were often imposed upon, and cheated in trading their skins and furs for such necessaries as they required. Moncton saw the evil and provided a remedy, and established a store at Fort Pitt where the Indians could trade without fear of being wronged. (14)

On August 20th, Moncton made a treaty at Fort Pitt with the Six Nations and delivered a speech from Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the commander in chief of the British forces in America. He declared that the King of England had not sent him to deprive the Indians of their lands, that he did not mean to do so, and that the posts which he was establishing were being built to prevent the enemy from taking them; nor were the English people there to settle



Plan of Fort Pitt, 1761. From the Original Drawing by Lieutenant Bernard Ratzer, Preserved in the King's Library in the British Museum. Repreduced for William McConway of Pittsburgh, April, 1909. Size of Original Plan Two Feet Square. Scales indicated on above reduced plan apply to Original Plan.

on the Indian lands. (15)

Meanwhile the work on the fort was progressing. In the diary of James Kenny, a Quaker, who was living in Pittsburgh in 1761, and managing a store (16) for Philadelphia parties, there is an account of the uncompleted fort as it appeared in civilian eyes, as well as interesting sidelights on the life of the village. In one of the entries dated "11th mo., 19th," there is a detailed description of the fort, the "banks" of which the writer states are nearly raised. He relates that the front facing the town is of brick and the corners of the angles of hewn stone; * * * the part nearest the point where the two rivers meet is of earth sodded over and covered with thick long grass planted the year before, the bank having been mown several times during the summer. The fort he said is "four square" with a row of barracks along each square, three rows being of wooden framework, and the row on the side nearest the point, brick. Also that a large brick house had been erected during the past summer in the southeast corner of the fort on which the roof is being put on. He continues, telling that there are steps at the door of hewn free stone, and the building has a cellar under it. The doors of the magazine, vaults and dungeons, are under huge banks of earth thrown out when the trenches were dug, and open in the rear of the barracks. In the magazines are kept the stores of ammunition, etc., and in the dungeons the prisoners who are to be tried for their lives are confined. There are no lights in the vaults and on the southeast bastion stands a high pole like a mast, on which a flag is hoisted every first day of the week from about eleven to one o'clock, and on state days, etc. Then there are three wells of water walled in the fort, and there is a square of clear ground in the interior about two acres in extent.

Kenny's journal also gives the earliest information obtainable in regard to the state of education and religion in Pittsburgh. He states that many of the inhabitants had engaged a schoolmaster, and had subscribed sixty pounds for him for the year, and that he had twenty scholars; also that the soberer people seemed to long for some public way of worship and that the schoolmaster, although a Presbyterian, reads from the book of Common

Prayer, on the first day of the week to a congregation of different principals, "where they behave very grave." This last remark is evidently not made from personal knowledge, as the writer adds in parenthesis, "as I heard;" and concludes his observations by saying that, "On occasion the children also are brought to church as they call it."

General Moncton had left Fort Pitt on October 27, 1760, (17) and from that time Colonel Bouquet was in charge, and at his direction a second enumeration of the inhabitants, as well as of the houses in the town was made. This was done on April 14, 1761, and the report showed that the population consisted of two hundred and twenty-one men, which included a number of soldiers dwelling outside of the fort, seventy-three women and thirty-eight children, and that there were standing in the village one hundred and sixty-two houses, of which ten were unoccupied. (18)

By the time that winter arrived Colonel Bouquet had completed Fort Pitt. It was a most formidable work and the cost was enormous. Lewis Brantz, a well educated young German, who stopped over in Pittsburgh in 1785, while on his way from Baltimore, being employed in conducting a party of Germans to the Western country, who had engaged to settle on lands owned there by his employers, wrote in his journal, that Fort Pitt was "formerly the strongest Western fortification of the Americans." (19) The Rev. David Jones, a Baptist missionary who was in Pittsburgh in 1772, related that the fort was said to have cost the crown £100,000 sterling. (20) Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who came to the place in 1781, writing of the fort in 1786, said, the cost was £60,000. (21)

What is claimed to be an authentic description of the fort was printed in the Centennial number of the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* of July 29, 1886

"It covered eighteen acres of ground and was much larger than Fort Duquesne. The fort proper was built in the form of an irregular pentagon, with regular bastions at the five angles surrounded by a broad moat, which at times was nearly filled by the rising water of the rivers. The moat extended from the Allegheny River northeast of the fort, and entirely around it, but did not connect with the Monongahela, though it approached very near it. The

two shorter angles of the work upon the land side were revetted with brick solidly embanked with earth. The other three angles were stockaded with an earthen parapet. A line of sharpened palisades was planted near the foot of the rampart. The fort was supplied with casemates, or bomb-proofs, and had barracks and officers quarters for a thousand men. Running across a point outside of and parallel to the ditch was the glacis, or earth work, with salient and re-entrant angles having entrances covered by traverses and extending from river to river. A light parapet with three bastions, extended along the Allegheny and thence along the Monongahela to the bastion. Eighteen guns were mounted on the bastions."

The fort was located almost entirely west of Marbury (now Barbeau) Street which was laid out partly along what had been the glacis and partly in the moat of the fort. (22) At about where Penn Street (now Penn Avenue) intersects Marbury Street was the main entrance to the fort and here there was a drawbridge crossing the moat. The southerly line of the fort extended across Penn Street, this portion of Penn Street being entirely covered by the fort all the way to the Monongahela River. It also crossed Liberty Street at West Street and extended thence to the Monongahela. Facing this stream was another entrance with a drawbridge. The stronghold extended northwardly from Penn Street at the point nearest to Marbury Street, about one hundred and fifty feet, and at the north bastion about three hundred feet, the distance in both instances being measured to the outer line of the moat.

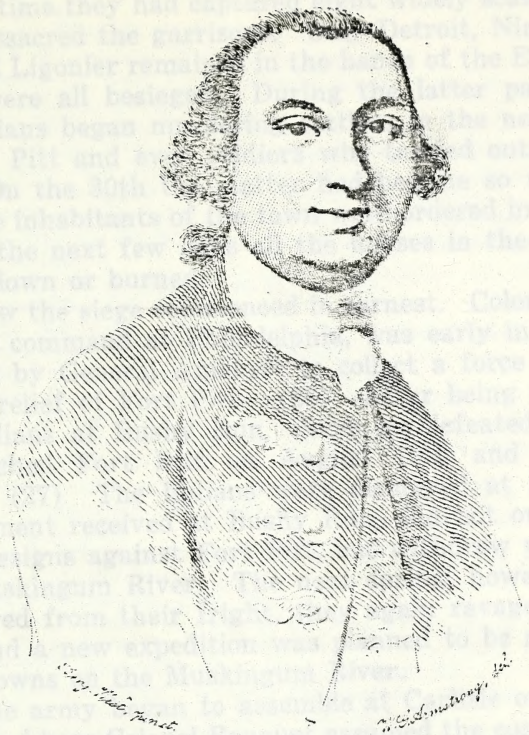
Along the easterly front of the fort Lieutenant Ratzer had laid out gardens covering all the ground between the Allegheny River and Liberty Street, and extending eastwardly approximately to about seventy-five or a hundred feet from Fifth (now Stanwix) Street. This ground was divided by three lanes into five blocks. The gardens comprised about forty acres and were divided into two parts. Close to the fort and extending eastwardly from the bastions and along the Allegheny River, under the direction of the officers of the fort, an orchard of apple and pear trees was planted, called the King's Orchard. Farther east the ground was brightened with flowers and shrubs and

ornamental plants, and made useful by the cultivation of vegetables, necessary for the inmates of the fort. This was christened the Artillery Gardens. (23)

But the great fortress erected for the maintenance of English supremacy proved to be unnecessary. Long before it was completed French arms everywhere in America had met with defeat at the hands of the English. The year 1759 had been a glorious one in English history. The French had abandoned Ticonderoga on the approach of General Amherst. The battle of Niagara had been fought and won on July 24th by Sir William Johnson, the Colonial Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the victory being so decisive that the troops sent by General Stanwix from Fort Pitt took possession of the French posts as far as Presqu' Isle without resistance. (24) Finally General Wolfe had climbed to the plains of Abraham and captured the fortress of Quebec. In 1760 these victories were crowned by the surrender of Montreal; and Detroit, and all other places in Canada were surrendered to General Amherst in September. The end had come to the French domination. All their possessions in the North, as well as those east of the Mississippi were in the hands of the victorious English. A preliminary treaty of peace between France and Great Britain, as well as with other powers, was signed on November 3, 1762. But a definitive treaty of peace yet remained to be executed, and this was not finally accomplished until February 10, 1763, when a treaty was signed at Paris formally ceding the conquered territories to Great Britain.

Fort Pitt, however, was still necessary as a protection against the Indians. The transfer from the French to the English of the posts between the Great Lakes and the Ohio led to a war with the Indian tribes of which the master spirit was Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas. A coalition of the Indian tribes from the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to the Great Lakes was formed, led by Pontiac, and by Kiyasuta at the head of the Senecas, Delawares and Shawanese. It is generally known as Pontiac's War, but along the Ohio border it was called the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War. (25)

The design of the Indians was to drive the English from all the Western country. So sudden were the move-



Henry Bouquet

ments of the Indians and so vigorous their attacks, that in a short time they had captured eight widely scattered forts and massacred the garrisons. Only Detroit, Niagara, Fort Pitt and Ligonier remained in the hands of the English, and these were all besieged. During the latter part of May the Indians began murdering settlers in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt and even soldiers who tarried outside of the fort. On the 30th the matter had become so threatening that the inhabitants of the town were ordered into the fort, and in the next few days all the houses in the town were pulled down or burned.

Now the siege commenced in earnest. Colonel Bouquet then in command at Philadelphia, was early in the spring ordered by General Amherst to collect a force and march to the relief of Fort Pitt. (26) After being engaged by the Indians at Bushy Run, whom he defeated decisively, he reached Fort Pitt on August 10th and raised the siege. (27) The Indians were dismayed at the terrible punishment received at Bushy Run, and not only gave up their designs against Fort Pitt, but withdrew westward to the Muskingum River. The next spring, however, having recovered from their fright, they again ravaged the frontier, and a new expedition was planned to be sent against their towns on the Muskingum River.

The army began to assemble at Carlisle on August 5, 1764, and here Colonel Bouquet assumed the command. The arrangements were completed on August 9th, when the new army began its march, arriving at Fort Pitt on September 17th. (28) On October 3rd the army left Fort Pitt and arrived at the Muskingum on the 17th, when a conference was held with the Indians. The Indians were only too willing to make peace, the prisoners in their hands were surrendered, a treaty of peace was entered into, and this ended the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War. The termination of this war ended the usefulness of Fort Pitt, except as a watch tower from which to observe the neighboring Indians, and as a place to fit out expeditions against the Indians farther away.

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CHAPTER III.
The Town Grows as the Fort Declines.

The town, which was located east of the fort, was soon rebuilt after the termination of the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War and grew in importance. Formerly nearly all the houses were located along the Monongahela River, only a few near the fort, in what was known as the lower town standing away from that river and in the direction of the Allegheny. The upper town was farther up the Monongahela River and extended to the location of Market Street. (1) On the rebuilding of the town the houses were mainly erected in what had been the upper town, which now began near the location of Ferry Street. There were as yet no streets, and the only road was the one which came from the East, and led to the main entrance of the fort. From this a few paths diverged to the Monongahela River and to the houses standing there and at the other points. And now, in 1765, Colonel John Campbell, by direction of the commander at Fort Pitt, prepared a plan of that part of the territory which lay between Water Street and Second Street, now Second Avenue, and Ferry and Market streets, comprising four blocks; and this was the town of Pittsburgh. (2)

More traders settled in the town; the population increased, trade with the Indians grew in volume, but otherwise the only events of moment were the conferences held with the Indians who were always willing to attend, knowing that food and drink would be served in abundance, and that they would be supplied with such necessaries as ammunition and blankets. The most important of these was the great conference which began on April 26, 1768, with the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawanese, Munseys, Mohicans and other tribes (3) who had complained of the murder of several of their people by the whites, and about their encroachments on the Indian lands, particularly on those along the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. The Indians attending this conference are said to have numbered eleven hundred. (4)

The title to all the lands in Western Pennsylvania, in-

cluding those about Fort Pitt, was still in the Indians, the possession of the numerous occupants being by sufference of the proprietaries or by permission of the military authorities. That it was true that the whites were encroaching on the Indian lands, and that the Indians had cause for their complaints is evident from the fact that the Pennsylvania Council on February 3, 1768, enacted a law providing the death penalty for persons settling on lands owned by the Indians. (5) But nothing was done under this law except to issue a proclamation notifying the intruders to remove, which they refused to do. The conference continued until May 9th, but little was accomplished. It was agreed that four deputies from the Indians, accompanied by two white men, should go to the illegally settled lands and warn the settlers to leave. The Indians, however, refused to go and the conference ended in failure (6) and the irritation between the Indians and the whites continued.

The desire for the acquisition of the Indian lands in the Colonies was not confined to the people of Pennsylvania, but was equally strong in New York and Virginia. A settlement was eventually brought about by leading trading companies, assisted by self-interested public men, (7) among the latter being William Franklin, the Royal governor of New Jersey, Governor Sir Henry Moore of New York, and General Thomas Gage, the commander in chief of the British forces in North America, all of whom connected themselves with a land company formed to acquire some of these very lands after the Indians had surrendered their title, and expected to profit largely thereby. Sir William Johnson is also said to have become interested in this company. The matter of the acquisition of the Indian lands was brought before the British cabinet, and in January, 1768, the Earl of Shelburne, the Secretary of State, authorized Sir William Johnson to adjust the boundary with the Six Nations. Johnson soon arranged for a congress with the Indians to convene at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, New York. On October 24th thirty-two hundred Indians had gathered and with the commissioners of the interested Provinces, including Lieutenant Governor Penn of Pennsylvania, in attendance, the first session was held.

Sir William Johnson had the confidence of the Indians

and easily persuaded them to concede the demands of the whites, and the sessions ended on November 1st. And for a sum of money equal to about ten thousand dollars, and such goods as were necessary to the Indians, or for which their untutored hearts yearned, they conveyed enormous tracts of land to Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York. The deed to Pennsylvania was for about one-third of the land in the Province, the western portion of the grant, including all the territory south of the Ohio River and east of the Allegheny, and comprising the southern portion of Allegheny County, all of Washington, Greene, Fayette, Westmoreland, Somerset and Cambria counties, and portions of at least a dozen other counties, extending all the way to the northeastern boundary of the state. To Virginia the Indians granted a still larger tract, including most of the present state of Kentucky, and that to New York was also enormous in extent. (8)

Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, were now prepared to place portions of their newly acquired lands in the market for sale. All of Western Pennsylvania was in Cumberland County, and the first step taken by the Penns was on March 27, 1769, when they caused a survey to be made of a tract of land in that county to be called the manor of Pittsburgh, containing fifty-seven hundred sixty-six acres, which included Fort Pitt and the town of Pittsburgh, and much of the present city, as well as a still larger area south of the Monongahela River. This was patented on May 19, 1769.

In June, 1769, panic seized the people of Pittsburgh. It was feared that an Indian uprising was imminent. In the neighborhood of the town the Senecas had stolen upwards of a hundred and fifty horses, shot about two hundred head of cattle, and murdered several settlers. The prevalent opinion was that the Indian tribes had broken the treaty of peace made with them the year before, and the farms about the town were soon deserted. The Moravians were a sect of German enthusiasts who believed themselves called upon to preach the Gospel to the heathen nations of all the world, and had penetrated the Western wilds and risked torture and death in their efforts to Christianize the Indians. The assistance which they rend-

ered the Colonists of the middle Provinces during the French War and in the time of Indian troubles, forms an illuminating page in Colonial history. Since 1768 they had conducted a mission on the upper Allegheny which was in charge of David Zeisberger and Gottlieb Senseman. When the excitement was at its height at Fort Pitt, the two missionaries appeared there for the purpose of obtaining supplies for their people, and learned of the Indian outrages. They knew the sentiments of the Indians toward the whites better than the people at the fort and assured them that they had nothing to fear as no general uprising of the Indians was contemplated. (9) The help which the Moravians gave General Forbes in keeping the Indians from joining the French in 1758 had been invaluable, and was well known at Fort Pitt, where also a number of the Moravians had visited and were highly respected, and the assurance given by Zeisberger and Senseman stayed the panic and calmed the fears of the frontiersman.

The next year the mission on the Allegheny River was removed to Beaver Creek, the congregation leaving on April 17th in fifteen canoes, reaching Fort Pitt three days later. Zeisberger's biographer refers thus to the Indian converts and the impression made by them at Fort Pitt: "When this post still bore the name of Fort Duquesne, and French priests were as active as French soldiers, it had often been visited by baptized Indians. But now, for the first time appeared a company of Protestant converts. It was a novel sight. Traders and the garrison thronged the camp, and beheld with astonishment the problem solved, that savages can be changed into consistent Christians." (10)

Ever since the first settlers came into the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, there had been scarcely any semblance of enforcement of law. Carlisle, the county seat of Cumberland County, was two hundred miles away and when Bedford County was erected in 1771, there was no relief, the county seat of that county being still too distant to induce the settlers on the Western border to attempt to secure their rights or redress their wrongs by lawful methods. They now agitated for a new western county, with a centrally located county seat, and on February 26, 1773, their desires were attained and Westmoreland County

erected, which embraced all of the Province west of "Laurel Hill." The county seat was fixed at Hannastown, located on the Forbes road about three miles northeast of the present borough of Greensburg, and thirty-five miles from Pittsburgh. Three years before its erection as the county seat, Robert Hanna had purchased from the Penns the land of which Hannastown was part, had built a tavern, laid out a village site and thereafter had the place established as the county seat. (11) The houses were all built of logs and never exceeded thirty in number.

Few travelers visiting or passing through Pittsburgh have left written records of their impressions while there. In addition to a few missionaries who were sent out by religious organizations in the East to attempt the conversion of the Indians, or to preach the Gospel to the settlers, there was only one lay traveler who wrote out his experiences while in the place, of which there is in existence a published record. Most of the early travelers have left only meager details of their visits to "Fort Pitt," for by that name they all designated the place. The notes of these sojourners in Pittsburgh have an historic interest as they indicate the various steps in the progress of the place. But the reader cannot help wondering at the unanimity with which, where they refer to the houses at all, they place the number so much below the figure given in Colonel Bouquet's census of 1761. They were surely not all mistaken in this respect, and the only manner in which this can be explained, is that when Bouquet gave the number of the houses as 162, he meant rooms, the trading houses, which comprised practically all of the town, generally having quite a number of rooms, and a room being considered sufficient for a family.

The earliest account is that written by John Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, and is the story of a visit made by him in 1762. He was then nineteen years of age, and was accompanying Christian Frederick Post as assistant, who was on a mission to the Moravian Indian towns on the Tuscarawas River. On the evening of April 1st, the two travelers reached Fort Pitt, and Heckewelder relates that when within seven or eight miles of the fort, they came upon the field of Braddock's defeat. "A dreadful sight was presented to our eyes," he writes. "Skulls and bones of the

unfortunate men slain here on the 9th of July, 1755, lay scattered all around, and the sound of our horses' hoofs continually striking against them, made dismal music, as, with the Monongahela full in view, we rode over this memorable battleground." Continuing he said: "The only private dwelling in the neighborhood of the fort was situated at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela. It was owned by two traders, Messrs. Davenport and McKinney, who received us in a very friendly and hospitable manner. Within the fort also we met with kind well-wishers, and the treatment we received at the hands of the gallant commander, Col. Bouquet, and all his officers, calls for my lasting gratitude." (12)

Mathew Clarkson of Philadelphia, who subsequently became prominent in the public life of that city, being mayor of the city from 1792 to 1795, was at Fort Pitt in 1766. At this time he was connected with one of the most noted commercial houses in Philadelphia, which carried on the fur trade with the Indian tribes of the Mississippi Valley, having their headquarters at Fort Chartres. He made the western tour for his employers, and while on his way to Fort Chartres stopped at Fort Pitt, arriving on August 18th. (13) His diary is disjointed, but throws considerable light on many phases of the life of the place of which little is known today. Immediately upon his arrival he delivered the letters which he had brought for Major William Murray, the commander of the fort. The first entry after he reached Pittsburgh reads: "Got to Fort Pitt just after dark, was stowed away in a small crib, on blankets, in company with fleas and bugs, and spent a night not the most comfortable." On August 10th, he wrote: "Took a walk to the ship-yards. Found four boats finished and in the water, and three more on the stocks; business going on briskly. Met with Major Murray, who had been at the store (which must have been the store established by General Moncton) to wait upon me with an invitation to dine with him today. Was extremely polite and obliging; took me into the fort.—Dined with him at the mess-room in company with____the officers in the garrison at this post. Major Murray offered me a room in the barracks which I accepted of. Lodged this night in Mr.

John Reid's room, the Commissary.

He tells of hearing "Mr. McCleggan preach to the soldiers in *Erse*—but little edified. He preaches alternately one Sunday in that language, and the next in English." He gives some information in regard to the manner in which letters were received at and sent from the fort. "Sent letters to forward by the Express, which sets off directly with monthly returns. They are forwarded by soldiers to Shippinsburg, where they are put in the Post Office, and forwarded to Philadelphia. The returns are made up the 24th of every month." He also notes the arrival at Fort Pitt of the Rev. Charles Beatty and Rev. George Duffield, two Presbyterian missionaries, "on a message among the Indians to preach the Gospel. Supped with them at the mess." He then relates that he heard Mr. Duffield "preach in the town a very judicious and alarming discourse."

The Rev. Charles Beatty, who had been at Fort Pitt with General Forbes' army, has also written a journal of the visit to Pittsburgh which he and Mr. Duffield made and about which Mr. Clarkson wrote. They remained at the place four days, and Mr. Beatty (14) tells of waiting on the commander of the fort whom he calls "Captain" Murray, who received them politely and introduced them to the Rev. Mr. McCleggan, the chaplain of the Forty-second Regiment, part of which was in garrison there. Both missionaries slept in a room in the fort, and Mr. Beatty seems to be very grateful because Mr. McCleggan, "with some other gentlemen of the place," furnished them with "blankets to sleep in, and some other necessaries, so that we fared as well as we could expect."

On Sunday forenoon, at the invitation of Mr. McCleggan, Mr. Beatty preached to the garrison, while Mr. Duffield preached to the people "who live in some kind of a town without the fort."

The journal most often quoted is that of George Washington who was in Pittsburgh in 1770, while on his way to the Kanawha River district. On October 17th he arrived at Fort Pitt. "We lodged in what is called a town," he wrote, "distant about three hundred yards from the fort at one Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. The houses are built of logs and ranged in

streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is five sided and regular, two of which near the land are of brick; the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrision consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Captain Edmonstone." (15)

Another glimpse of the village and the fortification is obtained from the diary of Rev. David Jones, already referred to, who was there on June 4, 1772. (16) "At this time," he relates, "the fortification was remaining but somewhat impaired. Here are about eighty soldiers with one commanding officer—East at about two hundred yards distant, by the Monongahela, there is a small town chiefly inhabited by Indian traders, and some mechanics. The army was without a chaplain, nor was the town supplied with a minister. Part of the inhabitants are agreeable and worthy of regard, while others are lamentably dissolute in their morals."

Two months after the visit of Mr. Jones, two other ministers of the Gospel came to Pittsburgh, the Rev. David McClure, and the Rev. Levi Frisbee, both Presbyterians. Mr. McClure kept a diary and from this an extended view and a most vivid picture may be obtained of life in early Pittsburgh. Mr. McClure made Pittsburgh his headquarters, preaching to the settlers in many places in Western Pennsylvania, as well as to the Indians on the Muskingum, remaining in the country for eight or nine months. He arrived in Pittsburgh on August 19, 1772, and thus describes his entry into the village. (17)

"Arrived at this place about sunset. The first object of our attention was a number of poor drunken Indians, staggering and yelling through the village. It is the headquarters of Indian traders, and the resort of Indians of different and distant tribes, who come to exchange their peltry and furs for rum, blankets and ammunition, etc." He describes the fort as "a handsome and strong fortification. In it are barracks, and comfortable houses, one large brick house is called the Governor's house. It stands at the point of land formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, on an extensive plain. Adjoining are

good orchards and gardens. The village is about one-fourth of a mile from the fort and consists of about forty dwelling houses built of hewed logs and stands on the bank of the Monongahela."

His first Sunday morning he spent in preaching in the fort to the garrison at the request of Major Hamilton. The greater part of the soldiers had lately arrived from Fort Chartres, and had not heard a sermon for four years. The men, about two hundred in number, were paraded under arms during the divine service. His companion, Mr. Frisbee, preached in the village in the afternoon. He comments on the character of the inhabitants, and says they are very dissipated. "They seem to feel themselves beyond the arm of the government, and freed from the restraining influence of religion. It is the resort of Indian traders; and many here have escaped from justice and from creditors, in the old settlements. The greater part of the Indian traders keep a squaw, and some of them a white woman as a temporary wife."

The reception of the missionaries by the officers of the fort was most friendly. On the eve of his departure for the Indian country, having passed the evening with Major Edmonstone, the commander of Fort Pitt, and the other officers of the garrison, Mr. McClure wrote: "The Major politely waited on me at the gate and at parting said, 'you are engaged in a benevolent work and you have my best wishes for your success. I am a Christian and therefore please to command me in anything in which I may serve you.'"

In the entry of Oct. 19th he tells of the contemplated abandonment of Fort Pitt. "In consequence of orders from General Gage, the garrison are preparing to depart. They have begun to destroy the fortress. This is a matter of surprise and grief to the people around who have requested that the fortress may stand as a place of security to them in case of an Indian invasion. I asked one of the officers, the reason of their destroying the fort, so necessary to the safety of the frontier. He replied, 'The Americans will not submit to the British Parliament and they may now defend themselves.'"

Shortly before he left the place finally, on November 19th, he made this entry in his journal, "Waited on Major

Edmonstone, who remained in the dismantled fort, expecting to leave it in a few days.—The Major appears displeased with the manners of the people of this country. In conversation on the parade, he told me he had traveled through England, Ireland, France, Germany and Holland, but never knew what mankind were, till he came to that station."

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CHAPTER IV.
In Virginia.

The English had now been at peace with the Indians for eight years. But the Indians were suspicious of them on account of the continued maintenance of Fort Pitt. They feared that the troops kept there and at the fortified places on the Wabash, the Illinois and the Mississippi were intended at some future time to be used against them. The forts were regarded as useless by the English and in order to conciliate the Indians, in the autumn of 1772, so it is alleged by several authorities, General Gage ordered their abandonment. (1)

It is quite possible, however, that the remark made to Mr. McClure by the English officer about the abandonment of Fort Pitt, had more than a foundation in fact. A revolutionary spirit was already abroad, not only in the East, but on the border as well. Ever since the passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament in 1765, in pursuance of which documents of all kinds were to be taxed, the American Colonists had been irritated against England. They refused absolutely to obey the law and declined to buy English goods. Nor did the repeal of the obnoxious measure two years later allay the popular resentment, especially as under a new act duties were levied on importations; and the Americans again refused to buy from England. General Gage in 1770, had sent troops to Boston and the "Boston Massacre" resulted; and in Pittsburgh the New England spirit may have become evident. That the population was not any too friendly to the English is apparent from the remarks of Major Edmonstone to Mr. McClure, already quoted. It may have been quite true that Fort Pitt and the other forts were ordered dismantled as a precautionary measure, so that in case of an uprising the Colonists might not gain the advantage of the possession of the forts and the military supplies kept there. Also the conciliation of the Indians may have been part of the plan of the English to win them to their side in case the Americans rose in arms against them.

On October 10, 1772, Major Edmonstone, the commander of Fort Pitt, sold the buildings and materials of the

fort consisting of picketts, bricks, stone, timber and iron in the building and walls of the fort and in the redoubts to be demolished, for the sum of fifty pounds, New York currency, to William Thompson and Alexander Ross. (2) Thereupon the fort was abandoned, but a corporal and three men were left to care for the boats and batteaux intended to keep up communication with the Illinois country.

The people of Pittsburgh protested and petitioned the Governor of the state to intervene and prevail on General Gage to restore the fort. Governor Penn, however, by a message of January 29, 1773, recommended to the Assembly that a small garrison be maintained at Fort Pitt by the Province, (3) and in a communication dated February 5, 1773, suggested to the Assembly that a garrison of twenty-five or thirty men might be placed there by the Province. (4) The Assembly, however, on February 19, 1773, declined to comply with Governor Penn's request, giving as a reason that it might offend the Indians with whom the country was at peace. (5)

But while Fort Pitt was abandoned it was not fully destroyed and continued to be occupied in some way for a score of years afterward. Upon its evacuation by the English it was taken possession of by Major Edward Ward, a half brother of George Croghan, the Indian trader, and Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs to Sir William Johnson. He was the same Ward who, while Ensign, had been compelled to surrender to the French the uncompleted fort at the forks of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers.

It is not quite clear by what right Ward took possession of Fort Pitt, but it was perhaps done as agent of or by permission of Ross and Thompson, to whom Major Edmonstone had sold the materials and buildings of the fort. That this is probably the explanation of Ward's possession, is indicated from the fact that a petition was presented to the Virginia Convention on December 18, 1775, by Ross and Thompson, in which they asserted that they were in possession of Fort Pitt from the time of its abandonment by Major Edmonstone until it was occupied by Dr. Connolly on January 1, 1774, (6) Ward's occupation of the fort ending at that time, and asking to be compensated for the use of the fort by Connolly. Also Ross had been the

agent in Pittsburgh for the contractor for victualling his Majesty's forces in North America, and was besides the possessor of the title to several tracts of land located about the fort, the grant of which had been made to him directly or indirectly by Major Edmonstone prior to the evacuation of Fort Pitt by the British. (7) Hence he was strongly suspected of being disloyal to the American cause, and was in fact afterward attainted of treason by Act of the Pennsylvania Assembly. The possession of the property at the fort may therefore have been turned over to Ward whose loyalty was unquestioned, in order to avoid being confiscated.

In 1774 the long pending controversy between Virginia and Pennsylvania in regard to the boundary between the Colony of Virginia and the Province of Pennsylvania reached its climax in Pittsburgh. Lord Dunmore had been Royal governor of New York from October 18, 1770, to July 8, 1771, when he was transferred as Royal governor to Virginia. (8) Bancroft paints a disagreeable picture of Dunmore. "No Royal governor showed more rapacity for power. During his short career in New York he had acquired fifty thousand acres of land. Scarcely had he settled in Virginia when his greed for land caused him to become a partner in two immense purchases of land from the Indians in Southern Illinois." (9) From the beginning he had cast longing eyes on the growing settlements in Western Pennsylvania, and early in 1773 he appeared at Fort Pitt (10) where he met Dr. John Connolly, a Pennsylvanian by birth, well connected, a nephew of George Croghan, and the husband of the daughter of Samuel Semple who kept the tavern where Washington stopped in 1770. That Connolly made a most favorable impression on Washington who met him on this visit, is evident from the entry which he made in his journal on that occasion. Washington had invited Connolly, together with Croghan, and the officers of the fort to dine with him at Semple's tavern and he wrote of him that he was "a very sensible, intelligent man, who had traveled a good deal over this Western country." He quotes Connolly's views at length on the lands, climate and prospects of the country southwest of Pittsburgh. (11) To Connolly, Dunmore un-

folded his plans for extending the Virginia dominion. The wiley Earl claimed that Pittsburgh and the surrounding country was part of Virginia, being embraced in West Augusta, as that part of Augusta County lying west of the Alleghany Mountains was called. (12) He worked on Connolly's ambition and perhaps his cupidity, and easily persuaded him to become the instrument for carrying out his plans.

Early in January, 1774, Connolly appeared in Pittsburgh bearing a commission as captain from Dunmore, and claimed authority to establish a new Virginia county which was to include Pittsburgh. His bombastic proclamation was dated January 1, 1774, and was posted in the village on January 6th. The proclamation called upon all persons in Pittsburgh to assemble as militia on January 25th. (13) The day before they were to gather, however, Connolly was arrested in Pittsburgh (14) by order of Arthur St. Clair, later a general in the Revolutionary War, who was then a Justice of the County Court, Prothonotary, Register and Recorder of Westmoreland County, and committed to jail at Hannastown. But Connolly's arrest did not prevent the assembling of some of the people as militia. On February 2nd St. Clair wrote to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, (15) "I was in hopes that the sending him (Connolly) out of the way would put an end to it altogether, but I was mistaken. About eighty persons in arms assembled themselves, chiefly from Mr. Croghan's neighborhood and the country west and below the Monongahela, and after parading through the town and making a kind of *feu de joy*, proceeded to the fort, where a cask of rum was produced on the parade, and the head knocked out. This was a very effectual way of recruiting."

Connolly, however, was soon released on his own recognizance. (16) In a few days he returned to Pittsburgh and from there went to Redstone where he collected a body of armed men, and then proceeded to Staunton, Virginia, where he was sworn in as a justice of the peace of Augusta County. Armed with civil authority, as well as the military power which he already possessed, he reappeared in Pittsburgh on March 28th, (17) with a body of militia and took possession of Fort Pitt, changing the name of both the fort

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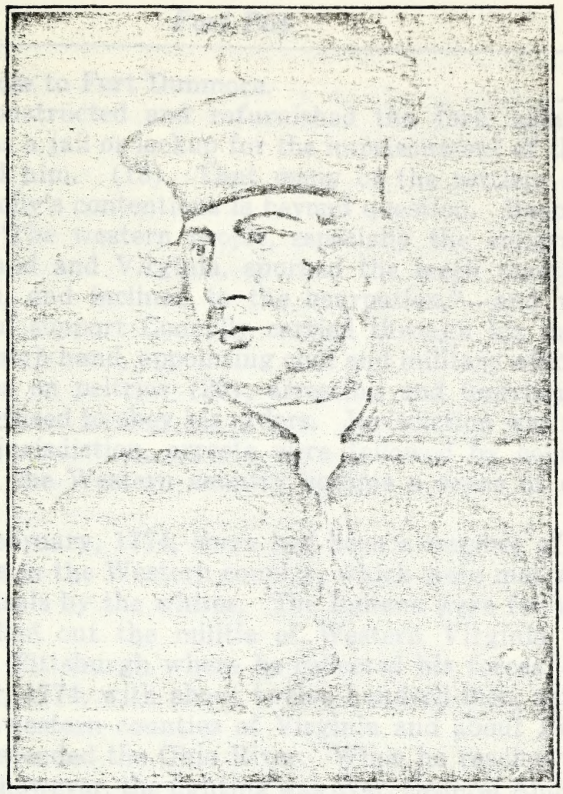
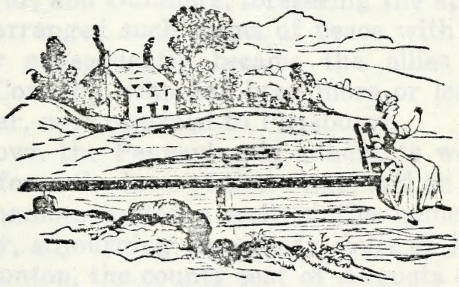


Lord Dunmore.



The Ducking Stool.

and the village to Fort Dunmore.

He reconstructed and refurnished the fort, using it principally as a jail or lockup for the imprisonment of those who opposed him. (18) That many of the settlers supported Connolly's contentions is beyond question. Bancroft says, (19) "The western people, especially the emigrants from Maryland and Virginia, spurned the meek tenets of the Quakers, and inclined to the usurpation,"—and with this powerful support Connolly carried through his measures with a high hand, appointing civil and military officers, levying taxes on peltries (20), arresting and imprisoning those who refused to obey his orders. Jurisdiction was now opposed to jurisdiction, arrests were followed by counter arrests; and the Western country became a scene of confusion.

Since February, 1774, there had been a number of Indian outrages in the Western country, which were met with terrible reprisals by the whites. The Indians were for war. Dunmore called out the militia of Western Virginia and proceeded to Pittsburgh where he collected his forces, and in September, 1774, with about twelve hundred men, raised in the Northwestern counties of Virginia and about Pittsburgh, he descended the Ohio River. When he reached the Scioto River, however, the fighting was over, General Andrew Lewis, the commander of the militia of Southwestern Virginia, having defeated the Indians at Point Pleasant. (21) This ended the war, and Dunmore, foreseeing the approaching Revolution, arranged such terms of peace with the Indians, that they subsequently became the allies of the British. (22) Connolly, who had been more or less occupied with this war, now returned to Pittsburgh.

At Hannastown the Pennsylvania adherents were still attempting to enforce the laws of that state, and on December 12, 1774, Dunmore issued a writ in the name of his Brittanic Majesty, adjourning the county court of Augusta County from Staunton, the county seat of Augusta County, to Fort Dunmore and the first term was held there on February 21, 1775. (23) The Virginia laws provided for the ducking stool as a punishment for evilly disposed women, and one of the first acts of the court at Fort Dunmore was at the session held on February 22nd, at which Connolly

presided, to instruct the sheriff to employ a workman to build a ducking stool at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers. (24)

But Dunmore's power was rapidly drawing to a close. The Revolution was beginning, the battle of Lexington was fought on April 19, 1775. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10th. The Virginia Convention which convened at Richmond on March 20, 1775, to appoint delegates to the new Continental Congress, had taken measures for enrolling companies of volunteers in each county, and before daylight on June 8th, Lord Dunmore and his family fled from Williamsburg, and took refuge on board the Fowey, an English man of war, lying at Yorktown. (25) On July 25th, Connolly left Fort Dunmore (26) to join Dunmore. He never returned to Pittsburgh, his rule was at an end, and like his employer, he espoused the British cause.

The leaders in the newly formed government viewed with alarm the troubles existing between Virginia and Pennsylvania, and on the day that Connolly shook the dust of Pittsburgh from his feet, the delegates in Congress from both Virginia and Pennsylvania published an address to the "Inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia on the west side of Laurel Hill," whom they designated "Friends and Countrymen." The address was signed by Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, and by John Dickenson, George Ross, Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson and Charles Humphries of Pennsylvania. It referred to the unhappy condition existing west of Laurel Hill and begged the inhabitants to terminate their differences, dismiss their armed men, release their prisoners, and suggested that until the dispute was decided, every person should be permitted to retain his possessions unmolested. (27)

But the danger of civil war in Western Pennsylvania between the adherents of that Province and those of Virginia was not yet over. The claim of Virginia to the disputed land was not surrendered at Dunmore's flight, and although she had driven him from Williamsburg and was intensely loyal to the Revolution and was standing shoulder to shoulder with Pennsylvania in the movement, she did not loosen her grip on the western end of that Province. The

first Provincial Convention organized by the Revolutionary Virginians met at Williamsburg on August 1, 1774, and again at Richmond on March 20, 1775, Williamsburg being no longer a safe place for treason mongers. (28) At the session held in July, 1775, it appointed a Committee of Safety. This body was given authority to commission officers, direct military movements, issue warrants on the Treasury, and all commanding officers were directed to pay strict obedience to its orders. (29) The Committee of Safety commissioned John Neville of Frederick County, captain of militia, and on August 7th ordered him to proceed with his company of one hundred men to Fort Pitt and take possession. Captain Neville was probably selected for this service because he had been a resident of Pittsburgh for some time, having made large entries of land on Chariters Creek under the Virginia laws, and having been elected to the Virginia Provincial Convention from Augusta County in the previous year, but being prevented from attending on account of illness.

During all of this time of turmoil and controversy, the adherents of both Virginia and Pennsylvania were loyal to their oppressed brethren in Massachusetts. On May 16, 1775, only four weeks after the battle of Lexington, meetings were held by the Virginians at Pittsburgh, (30) and by the Pennsylvanians at Hannastown, (31) at which resolutions were adopted unanimously approving the New England movement; and steps were taken to organize, arm and discipline the militia in order to meet whatever might betide. The better to carry out their designs the Hannastown meeting organizd themselves into the Association of Westmoreland County. At the same time the meeting proclaimed their loyalty to King George the Third.

On July 12th, Congress created three Indian departments of which one was to be west of the Alleghany Mountains, called the Middle Department. (32) Richard Butler was made agent of this department with headquarters at Pittsburgh, and continued as such until April 10, 1776, when he resigned in order to assist in the organization of a regiment, which became the Eighth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, and of which he was commissioned major by Congress on July 20, 1776. He was

succeeded as Indian agent by George Morgan. Shortly after Morgan assumed the duties of the office there were indications of Indian troubles. Consequently a hundred men were raised in Westmoreland County for this service if needed, and in September, Congress issued an order assembling all the militia that could be spared, for the defense of Fort Pitt. (33) Powder, lead and ten thousand flints were forwarded to Morgan, but the Indians remained quiet and neither the militia, the powder, lead or flints were needed.

The Virginia Provincial convention which convened at Richmond on July 17, 1775, divided Virginia into sixteen districts, West Augusta being created one of the districts, (34) and a law enacted in October, 1776, defined the boundary between Augusta County and the District of West Augusta. On November 8, 1776, the legislature divided the district of West Augusta into three counties, Ohio, Monongalia and Yohogania, nearly all of the last, which included Pittsburgh, and much of the other two being composed of Pennsylvania territory. (35) Delegates were elected to the Virginia Provincial Council, and after the passage of the Act of 1776, senators and delegates to the legislature, and all the other officers in the district were elected or appointed under the Virginia laws. Troops were raised for the Revolutionary armies, the Sixth Virginia Regiment being attached to Muhlenberg's brigade. (36) The Thirteenth Regiment was known as the West Augusta Regiment. (37) The Seventh Virginia Regiment was the first considerable body of men raised in the Monongahela country, (38) Justice's courts were now held regularly, those of Yohogania County being held in the upper story of a log jail and court house 24x16 feet, on the farm of Andrew Heath on the Monongahela River, nearly opposite and a little above West Elizabeth, and at or near the location of Elizabeth. (39) Virginia granted lands to settlers, taxes were levied but frequently not paid, the disputed jurisdiction between Pennsylvania and Virginia giving to many of the disaffected a chance to shirk their payment as well as avoid military service. (40) Roads, mills, taverns and ferries were authorized, and the Pennsylvanians obeyed the Virginia laws and applied to the courts of that Colony or

state, and brought and defended suits there when necessary.

On December 18, 1776, Virginia, through its legislature, proposed a certain line as the boundary between the two states and suggested that a joint commission be appointed to agree upon a boundary line to which proposal Pennsylvania refused to consent. On July 5, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania made an effort to bring about an agreement by sending a letter to the Virginia delegates in Congress, proposing a settlement, but nothing came of the matter.

On February 7, 1777, the Virginia Provincial Council directed the raising in Yohogania County of a company of militia to consist of a hundred men to garrison Fort Pitt and relieve Captain Neville's company. Robert Campbell was made captain of this company and commanded at the fort (41) until the arrival of Brigadier General Edward Hand on June 1st.

In the meantime Captain Neville had been ordered to join the Eighth Virginia Regiment, known as the German Regiment, so called because it was largely composed of young men of German birth or extraction. It was organized on December 1, 1775, by the Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, pastor of the German Lutheran Church at Woodstock, and at least one company, that of Captain Stinson, came from about Pittsburgh. (42) Muhlenberg was made colonel, and the regiment became historic, not only on account of its achievements in the Revolution, but also by reason of the glowing verses of Thomas Buchannan Read. The poet's picture is prescient of war. It was Sunday morning; the church was crowded with worshippers from far and near. The pastor was in his pulpit declaiming about the impending conflict.

"When suddenly his mantle wide
His hands impatient flung aside,
And lo! he met their wondering eyes
Complete in all a warriors guise."

Outside before the open church door the trumpets were calling to the men to enlist; the drum and the fife were firing them "with fiercer life," while overhead the church bell rang out wildly, and the word that is spoke was,

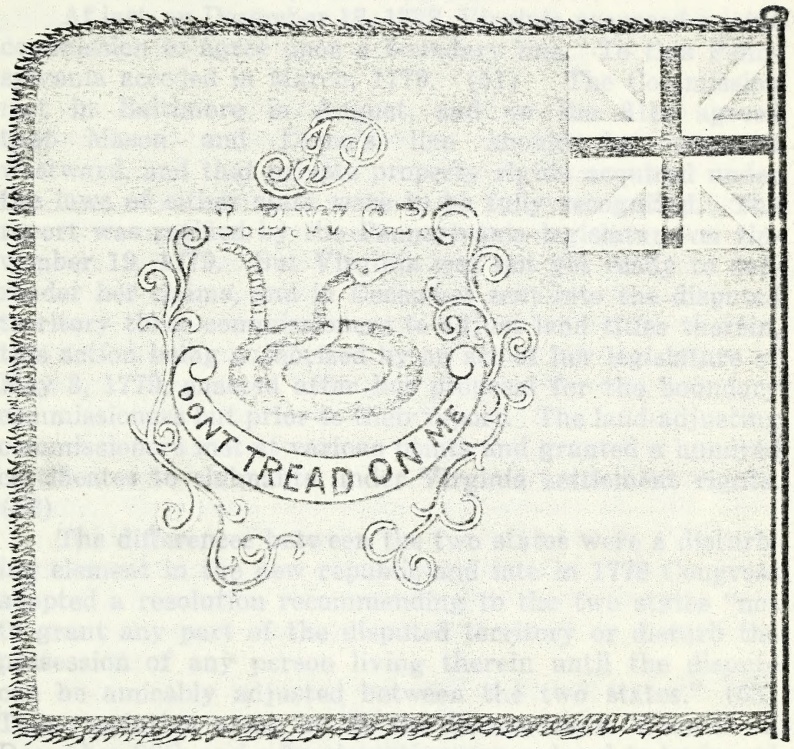
"War! War! War! War!"

Muhlenberg having been made brigadier general on February 21, 1777, and the regiment afterwards also losing the two colonels who had successively followed him, Neville became colonel on December 11, 1777. On September 14, 1778, the regiment was merged into the Fourth Virginia Regiment, of which Neville became colonel on June 1, 1777. (44) After the war Colonel Neville returned to Pittsburgh and became one of its most prominent citizens.

It was only at Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland County, and in the contiguous country that the Pennsylvania jurisdiction continued. After the April term of 1776, however, no sessions of this court were held until 1778, (45) the Assembly of the state having on January 28, 1777, under the first constitution, provided for reorganizing the courts, and the first term of the Westmoreland County court began with the July, 1778, session. (46)

Westmoreland County was not behind the District of West Augusta in raising troops, and as early as May 24, 1775, in pursuance of the resolution adopted at Hannastown on May 16th, the Associators of Westmoreland County began organizing themselves into companies, which were formed into a regiment of two battalions, the First Battalion being commanded by John Proctor. Congress having on May 26th resolved that the Colonies be put into a state of defense, (47) the Pennsylvania Assembly on June 30th (48) created the Council of Safety, delegated with power to call the Associators into actual service. Thereupon the Regiment of Westmoreland County Associators was reorganized, and became part of the militia of the state. The First Battalion was called to Philadelphia in January, 1777, (49) and was later stationed in the West. A flag had been adopted by this battalion which was one of the first, if not the first, Rebel flag to appear in the Western country, and was the first Colonial flag to be flaunted in Pittsburgh in defiance of British authority. On its crimson folds alongside of the cross of St. George, was a rattlesnake with thirteen rattles, and the warning motto, "Don't tread on me!"

The Eighth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line was another body of Western Pennsylvania troops, seven of the eight companies being organized in Westmoreland County,



Flag of the First Battalion of the Regiment of Westmoreland County Asscciators

The letters J. P. I. B. W. C. P., are the initials of the words, "John Proctor's First Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania."

and seeing service in the East and at Fort Pitt. (50) Other troops raised in Westmoreland County were two companies of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion, of Colonel Arthur St. Clair. Westmoreland County also furnished men to the Third and other Pennsylvania regiments.

At last, on December 18, 1778, Virginia proposed a joint commission to agree upon a boundary line. To this Pennsylvania acceded in March, 1779. (51) The Commission met in Baltimore in August, and on the 31st agreed that Mason and Dixon's line should be extended westward, and that private property rights acquired under the laws of either state were to be fully recognized. The report was ratified by the Pennsylvania legislature on November 19, 1779. But Virginia was not yet ready to surrender her claims, and in December sent into the disputed territory three commissioners to adjust land titles therein, this action being authorized by an act of her legislature of May 3, 1779, enacted after her proposal for the boundary commissioners but prior to their report. The land-adjusting commissioners met at various points and granted a hundred certificates to claimants under Virginia settlement rights. (52)

The differences between the two states were a disturbing element in the new republic and late in 1779 Congress adopted a resolution recommending to the two states "not to grant any part of the disputed territory or disturb the possession of any person living therein until the dispute can be amicably adjusted between the two states." (53) This resolution came up in the Pennsylvania Council on December 28th and a proclamation was ordered to be issued in accordance with the recommendation of Congress. (54) Virginia still held back and Pennsylvania, no longer ruled by the Quaker government, became impatient of further delay, and on March 24, 1780, through its Council, adopted threatening preambles and resolutions which breathed war. "But if Pennsylvania must arm for internal defense," the resolution recited, "instead of recruiting her Continental line; if her attention and supplies must be diverted in like manner; if the common enemy encouraged by our division should prolong the war; interests of our sister states and the common cause be injured or disturbed; we trust

we shall stand justly acquitted before them and the whole world." (55)

But on June 23rd, Virginia confirmed the commissioners report on condition that rights acquired by persons to whom lands had been granted by Virginia be saved; and the Virginia Court of Yohogania County closed its records on August 28, 1780, (56) and the power of Virginia was withdrawn.

The conditional agreement by Virginia had yet to be ratified by Pennsylvania, and on September 23rd, that state agreed to the condition attached to Virginia's ratification and confirmed and ratified the agreement of August 31, 1779. A survey had yet to be made and as Virginia was then being invaded by the British, and her affairs were in some confusion, at the suggestion of Governor Thomas Jefferson, contained in a letter of June 3, 1781, a temporary line was agreed upon between Pennsylvania and Virginia to hold good during the continuance of the war. While the temporary line was being fixed on the ground, the surveyors were under the protection of two hundred militia, for fear of trouble from the Virginia adherents. They made their report on February 19, 1783. (57) The ratification by Pennsylvania of September 23, 1780, was finally confirmed by Act of the Legislature on April 1, 1784. After the Revolution was over the permanent line was run, the commissioners making their final report on August 23, 1785. (58)

The western boundary was still to be run and this was completed on October 4, 1786. (59)

(To be continued.)

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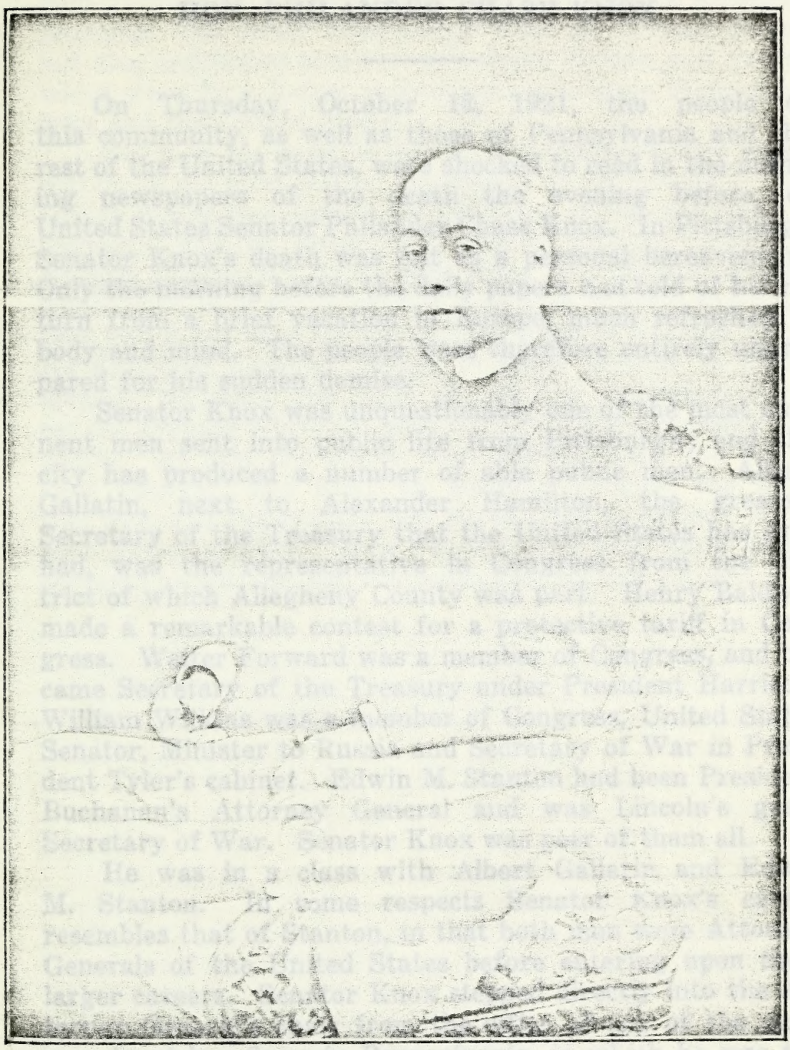


Hon. Philander Chase Knox.

HON. PHILANDER CHASE KNOX.

On Thursday, October 13, 1921, the people of this community, as well as those of Pennsylvania and the rest of the United States, were shocked to read in the morning newspapers of the death the evening before, of United States Senator Philander Chase Knox. In Pittsburgh Senator Knox's death was felt as a personal bereavement. Only the morning before the daily papers had told of his return from a brief vacation in Europe, much refreshed in body and mind. The people were therefore entirely unprepared for his sudden demise.

Senator Knox was unquestionably one of the most eminent men sent into public life from Pittsburgh; and the city has produced a number of able public men. Albert Gallatin, next to Alexander Hamilton, the greatest Secretary of the Treasury that the United States has ever had, was the representative in Congress from the district of which Allegheny County was part. Henry Baldwin made a remarkable contest for a protective tariff in Congress. Walter Forward was a member of Congress, and became Secretary of the Treasury under President Harrison. William Wilkins was a member of Congress, United States Senator, Minister to Russia and Secretary of War in President Tyler's cabinet. Edwin M. Stanton had been President Buchanan's Attorney General and was Lincoln's great Secretary of War. Senator Knox was peer of them all.

He was in a class with Albert Gallatin and Edwin M. Stanton. In some respects Senator Knox's career resembles that of Stanton, in that both men were Attorney Generals of the United States before entering upon their larger careers. Senator Knox stepped directly into the Attorney General's chair from the office of one of the most prominent law firms in Pennsylvania, in which he was the senior partner, and which he left at a great personal sacrifice. While Attorney General, both in the cabinet of President McKinley and in that of President Roosevelt, he conducted some of the most important litigation in which the United

States has ever engaged. As Secretary of State in President Taft's cabinet he not only brought the South American countries into closer relationship with the United States, but also negotiated treaties with Great Britain and France which were for a better understanding between those countries and the United States.

But it is his work in the United States Senate which will make the most lasting impression on the country. The United States was dazzled by the result of the war against Germany, and the Treaty of Versailles with its League of Nations attachment, as brought home by President Wilson, would have been easily ratified, and that without examination, had it not been for the decided stand of Senator Knox. He displayed unusual courage in going counter to public opinion; he made the fight of his life, awakened interest and aroused sentiment both in the Senate and among the people. At first the result was doubtful, then the public view changed, and after an arduous struggle the fight was won, and the country was saved from dangerous European entanglements. May Pennsylvania ever have public servants as efficient and courageous as Senator Knox.

WILLIAM PENN
THE FOUNDER OF PENNSYLVANIA

By

ALBERT SIDNEY BOLLES*

We often laugh at the lack of knowledge shown by foreigners who visit our country, especially at their hazy ideas of distance, climate, manners and ways of business. In truth, unknown to ourselves relating to our country, there are many things which should be familiar knowledge. We New Englanders think we know something about the stern yet splendid history of the Puritans, the kindling of the revolutionary fires, the constitution since adopted to secure our political freedom. Perhaps we know something about the history of our neighbor state of New York, but beyond, if confessing the truth, our knowledge is as gray as the mist that lies so softly on these autumn mornings over our valleys.

Let us then go two hundred and fifty miles southward to Pennsylvania, where William Penn planted a highly original seed of political and religious liberty that sprang up and mightily grew into one of the most powerful of all the American colonies.

Who was William Penn? and how did he become the owner of such a vast estate in America of more than 28,000,000 acres? In many ways he was the most unique of all the varied characters who appeared in American colonial history. His father was one of England's greatest admirals. Rapidly rising in the service, at twenty-one he was sent by Cromwell as vice-admiral to the straights of Gibraltar. Meanwhile his family lived at Essex in the Old Wanstead House, which had been rebuilt by Chancellor Rich, visited by Queen Mary, and by her greater sister Queen Elizabeth.

Cromwell was growing old and the admiral, like many a man in those days, looking forward to higher place and

*Read to the members of the Fortnightly Club, Bennington, Vermont

greater fortune, secretly wrote a message to the future King Charles II, that he was ready to serve him. Charles could do no more than send his thanks and beg Penn to keep his loyalty for a more favorable season. Cromwell, though soon learning of Penn's correspondence, said nothing, the fleet continued on its mission, but on its return Penn was stripped of his office and put into the tower.

Unhappy as any caged animal accustomed to freedom, he was finally released on very hard terms. Soon afterward Cromwell died and then the admiral's hour was come. Penn accompanied the commissioner of the royal fleet to welcome the King, who was living in Holland. As a part of the penalty for writing to Charles, Penn had been obliged to quit the naval service; one of the early acts of Charles, after becoming King, was to appoint him commissioner of the navy with lodgings in the Navy Gardens. Ere long he was made captain of the Fort of Kinsale, governor of the town and admiral of Ireland.

Meanwhile young Penn had been preparing for Oxford, and at fifteen entered the college of Christ Church. The revolutionary earthquake, which had shaken every part of England, had not left Oxford with its beautiful enchantments untouched. Many of the heads of its colleges had been driven forth from their beloved retreat by the unfeeling hand of Cromwell's visitors. Yet South, the orator of the University was there, also Wilmot, scattering his gems of wit, Christopher Wren of future fame as architect, and John Locke, a student in medicine. Whether he and Penn were close friends is not known; they were afterward rivals in legislation, and the contrast between their two schemes of government in the New World will long continue to excite all who are interested in the old and ever experimental problem of governing.

At this time a fierce controversy between Cavalier and Puritan was raging at Oxford. When hottest, Thomas Loe, a Friend or Quaker, a man of peace and gentleness, appeared. Penn's absence from chapel was noticed, his superiors were alarmed; and they soon learned that he had become strongly impressed with Loe's preaching. Other students, too, had come to think the same way. Noting their absence, they were required to explain and were fined. The fines

were imposed shortly after the adoption of a new rule requiring students to wear college gowns. Not content with disregarding the rule, they tore off the gowns from others who obeyed. For doing this they, including Penn, were expelled.

Let us linger for a moment over this new religious movement that was sweeping over England and had captured Penn. The religious bark at this time was drifting as aimlessly as Noah's ark during the great deluge. We in these days behold a great variety of religious vessels, and every now and then another is equipped and put into the religious sea. In Penn's day the church had dissolved into Anabaptists, Antinomians, Antiscripturists, Antitrinitarians, Arians, Arminians, Baptists, Brownists, Calvinists, Enthusiasts, Familists, Fifth-Monarchy men, Independents, Libertines, Muggletonians, Perfectists, Presbyterians, Puritans, Ranters, Sceptists, Seekers, Socianians. The bishop of the Church of England had been removed; Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his devotion to king and church had shared his master's fate; and parliament was busy in putting the Presbyterian Collar around the necks of the people. During this strange chaos of religious thought and life, George Fox, founder of the Religious Society of Friends, a religious revolutionist, appeared. Educated in the state church, he saw that there was no longer any life in the religious forms observed by those around him. At that time a new practice had sprung out of the chaos of religious beliefs; persons often met to discuss religious doctrines. At one of these meetings a woman, having asked a question, was thus answered by the priest in charge: "I permit no woman to speak in the church." Fix at once arose and asked: "Dost thou call this place a church? or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?" Instead of answering him, the priest in turn asked Fox what was a church. He replied: "A spiritual household, of which Christ is the head, but he is not the head of a mixed multitude, nor of an old house made up of lime, stones and wood." Too much was the answer for the priest; down he came from the pulpit and the discussion abruptly ended.

What was the great message that Fox flashed on mankind? "The immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit which

lights every man that comes into the world." "This light," says a well-known writer of the Friends Society, "is not the natural reason of man, but it is the divine power that quickens the conscience and gives spiritual perception." This was the idea, belief, religious conception, whatever name you choose to give, that Penn now accepted. Could any one in that day have had a thought so wild that the effect of his conversion to Quakerism would be to lay the foundation-stone of a colony in America! In truth, no change in the religious faith of any other American colonist ever wrought such varied and lasting results.

When his father heard of William's offense, how did he deal with him? At that time all was going well with the admiral, a peerage was not far off, and he had fixed on Weymouth for a title. He regarded William's religious wandering as a droll affair that could be easily laughed away. William came to the Navy Gardens in London, and hard drinking and late dancing were prescribed for him. One might confidently believe that such a course of treatment faithfully and vigorously pursued would expel any kind of religion. The admiral entertained the best of company and was a frequent visitor to the Drury Lane Theatre. A satire on the Puritans was then played at another theatre, and the admiral took William to the play. Failing in these methods, his father tried the rougher ones of imprisonment and whipping. These, too, failed,—what next?

Some of his friends were going to France to study, and William joined them. During his stay in Paris he was presented to Louis XIV; he met Robert Spencer, son of the Earl of Sunderland and Lady Dorothy Sidney, sister of the famous Algernon Sidney. Paris was gay and in a few weeks William's gravity began to disappear. Returning late one night from a party, he was accosted in a dark street by one who raising his sword, loudly shouted to William to defend himself. The stranger had taken off his hat in salutation, so he said, and his courtesy had been slighted. Vainly did William protest that he had not seen him. His assailant was evidently spoiling for a fight. William's blood was finally stirred and he drew his sword. A crowd quickly gathered, William soon proved to be the better swordsman and threw

the stranger's blade in the air.

The admiral was overjoyed to learn of his son's exploit. Soon after he left for sunny Sujou, on the banks of the Loire, where he spent two years reading the classics and French history. At nineteen, in company with Spencer, he left for a journey into Switzerland and Italy. Before completing it he was summoned home, for his father had been named Great Captain Commander of the fleet, under the Lord Admiral, the Duke of York, who was to wage war on the Dutch. William was now needed at home to take care of family affairs. Admiral Penn soon won a great victory, and peace having been declared, he returned home.

During his absence a great change had come over William. He had become grave and silent, had ceased to carry his hat in his hand, and to appear at court. What could the admiral do with him! He sent him to Dublin, Ireland, and afterwards to Shangarry Castle, a fine estate that had been presented to him by the King. William sailed for Dublin and presented himself to the Duke of Ormond. With one of the Duke's sons, Lord Arran, he became a strong friend. Resuming his gayety, he was ready for the boldest things. While waiting on the Dublin court, some rioters seized the castle. In defending it William displayed so much bravery that the Duke of Ormond wrote to the admiral of his intention to put William in command of a company at Kinsale.

At this time was painted the only portrait of Penn ever taken from life. He is dressed in the military costume of a highborn cavalier. His features are full, a calm sweet face, yet showing no lack of a high-souled purpose, which was the dominant note, as we will soon learn, in his great career.

From Dublin he went to Kinsale and Shangarry castle, and learning that Thomas Loe was to preach at Cork he journeyed thither, once more to fall under that strange spell by which he had been smitten at Oxford. Soon after the opening of the meeting the police entered and arrested every one and required them to appear before the mayor. He proposed to release Penn, Lord of Shangarry Castle, on giving his word to keep the peace. Penn denied that in meeting for worship he and the others present had been guilty of

breaking any law, and refused to give a bond for his good behavior.

Learning of his son's conduct, the admiral recalled him, and on his arrival frowned on him. Omitting to follow the fashion of the day and unhat himself, the admiral asked him what he meant. "I am a Friend," replied William, "and Friends take off their hats to none but God." "Then how would you behave at court?" asked the admiral. After waiting a moment, William answered that he could not lift his hat to mortal man. "Not even to the King and Duke of York," inquired his father. "No sir, not even to the King and Duke of York;" whereupon the admiral turned him out of doors.

We may wonder in these days why such a fuss was made over the uncovering of one's head. Of course, if William had been an old man with a shining pate there would have been at least one good reason for keeping his head covered, but, as he had a beautiful head of black glossy hair, he would, if like many a young man of our day, have been eager to show his waving locks.

We may linger for a moment over this episode because it shows what an evanescent and often irrational thing is fashion. In the beginning a hat was made to wear and not to carry in one's hand. Men wore them in home and church, in street and park, when eating a meal or listening to a play. "I get a strange cold in my head," wrote Pepys, "by flinging my hat off at dinner." Every one in those days ate with his head covered. A shopman behind the counter wore his hat and so did the preacher in the pulpit. The Puritans always wore their hats and only doffed them when repeating the name of God. When Charles II became king a hundred foreign fashions came into vogue, French words and fashions. Hat-lifting, therefore, was the sign of a foreign fashion; and all thoughtful persons wore them, while youths and courtiers carried them in their hands. By the Friends "the taking off the hat to a man," says an eminent Quaker writer, "the bowings and cringings of the body, and such other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them," were condemned.

Though shut out from home, his mother did not forget

him,—what mother ever does forget her son?—and she sent money, while his friends still welcomed him to their homes. Yet we may believe that banishment from his lovely home in the Navy Gardens was a sore trial; and his father could not understand what his son had gained in giving up home, rank and great worldly prospects. After a short absence, however, he was permitted to return, probably by his mother's importunings, but the admiral would not speak to him, nor permit him to eat with the family.

Penn now started on his wider career by issuing a short statement of the Friends' doctrine of the inner light, "the one light for princes, priests and people." As the Friends were harshly treated by the government and often imprisoned, Penn was untiring in his efforts to secure their release and in urging religious toleration. Notwithstanding his rank, he did not long remain free to speak and write, for one morning, when the streets of London were filled with snow, and the pavements were covered with ice, the keeper of the tower, Sir John Robinson, was surprised to see Penn at the gate.

For what had Penn been seized and clapped into the tower? For doing nothing more than to publish without license from the Bishop of London a pamphlet entitled, "The Sandy Foundation Shaken,"—a pamphlet reflecting in no way upon the government, as harmless we would think in these days as a spelling book. While there he wrote another pamphlet entitled, "No Cross, No Crown," which is one of the enduring works of prison literature.

Released after serving his sentence, Penn started for Holland. From that country he went to Germany, holding meetings and expounding the principles of his faith. At this time there were many religious communities in Holland, among others the Puritans, who had gone there since the return of the Stuarts to the throne with the intention of migrating to the new world. To these exiles America was a land of promise, to which many had already fled. In religious and social meetings letters were read describing the events of the voyage, the beauty and fertility of the new country, and kindling the desires and imaginations of others to follow. Penn, too, was deeply interested, and his forgotten Oxford

dream emerged from its mysterious hiding, that he was to become the founder of a civil and religious republic in the new world.

Penn continued his journey up the Rhine, meeting many persons of note; then returning to England he resumed his preaching, writing and varied efforts to alleviate Friends who were sorely harrassed and persecuted by the government. During a second journey to the continent he learned that many of the seeds of Quakerism, planted on his first visit had sprung up and were healthfully growing. One of the places at which he stopped was the city of Duysburg, where lived the young and beautiful Countess Von Falkenstein. She was seriously inclined, so Penn had learned, toward the Friends' belief. The city lay in the territory of the Elector of Brandenburg. On the day of Penn's arrival with his companion Berkeley, the countess had left her father's castle and had crossed the river to Mulheim, where she often spent one day in the week at a clergyman's house. While on their way the count came along and questioned them. Penn replied that they were Englishmen and were going to Mulheim. One of the count's attendants asked Penn if he and his companion knew before whom they stood, and had not learned how to deport themselves in the presence of princes. Penn replied that he did not mean to be disrespectful. Then said the questioner, "Why do you not take off your hats? Is it respectful to stand covered in the presence of the sovereign of the country?" Penn answered that they uncovered to none but God. "Well, then," exclaimed the angry count, "get out of my domain; you shall not go to my town." And he bade one of his attendants to lead them away. It was nearly dark, and after going with them to a thick forest, he left them to find their way back to Duysburg. They wandered around and at ten o'clock reached the city wall. The gates were shut; they shouted, but no sentinel replied. So they lay down in a marshy meadow to sleep with the stars for a gilded covering. At three o'clock in the morning they arose, stiff with cold, walked for two hours, and at last the cathedral clock struck and the city gates were opened. Penn was pleased to receive a message from the countess, though failing to see her.

Meanwhile the admiral was growing old, and, nearing his end, sent for his son. For some time he had been thinking more seriously of William's conduct. Of course he hated all of William's ideas about equality, but he could not help admiring him for his patient endurance of the horrors of prison life for the sake of principle. Reaching his father's bed-side, the dying hero of the seas, won over by the moral splendor of his son's career, said to him: "Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience, so you will keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in days of trouble."

A large sum was due to him from the government, and William questioned within himself: why not accept a province in America in settlement of the debt? As he pondered over the idea, it grew into clearer and larger form. Some politicians, wiser than their generation, regarded the enterprise as containing hidden danger to the crown. In less than a hundred years this utterance of mingled fear and prophecy was fulfilled.

Sixteen thousand pounds were due to Penn, besides the promise of a peerage to his father. If Penn were willing to accept a lordship on the Delaware for a barony on the Wey, Sunderland, Secretary of State, thought the bargain would be a good one for the government. The treasury was empty, and the government could hardly make another man Viscount Weymouth while the admiral's dues were unpaid. Had there been a full treasury, no Quaker seed would have ever been planted in Pennsylvania by William Penn. So the terms of the charter were settled and signed by King Charles on the fourth of March, 1681, sixty-one years after the landing of the pilgrim's at Plymouth.

Penn proposed to call the purchase, or rather province, Sylvania, because it was so largely covered with forest. Charles however, insisted on adding Penn as a compliment to his father. Fearing the name would be regarded as a display to his vanity, Penn offered twenty guineas to the secretary to change the name. One of Penn's biographers asserts that if he had offered the guineas to the King he would have accepted them and granted Penn's wish.

So, by this little thing, the indebtedness of the English

government to Penn's father, his son became the owner of a vast province in America, with power to form and administer a government in harmony with his own will. One can easily imagine how different such a government would be, a sole autocracy, from the governments of New England so largely created and administered by the King and his ministers.

Deeply imbedded as were the political institutions of New England in religion, it is worth while to look at Penn's frame of government, which was given to the world early in 1682. In the preamble is set forth his leading ideas on the nature, origin and object of government. It is of divine origin, so Penn declared, and bearing the same kind of relation to the outer man that religion bears to the inner. The outward is needed because man will not always obey the inward light. Its object is to encourage the well disposed, to shield virtue and reward merit, to foster art and promote learning. Vice will vitiate every form, and so long as men are ruled by their passions instead of reason, neither monarchy nor democracy can preserve them from destruction. Government depends more on man than man on government, if men are wise and virtuous. It is essential to the stability that the people be educated in noble thoughts and virtuous deeds. Such a people, making their own laws and obeying them faithfully, will be free, whatever may be the name of the constitution under which they live. He concludes by saying that "in reverence to God and good conscience towards men," he had formed his scheme of government to secure the people from the abuse of power and their freedom by their just obedience. Did not this lofty ideal justify him in calling it the "Holy Experiment"?

Leaving the people so free to govern themselves, ere long they began to come to the province from every part of Europe. At first came the English, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, Germans, Dutch and Swedes. For a long time the Swedes maintained their importance and many a family still living in the Commonwealth boasts of its Swedish descent. The Dutch were never so numerous. Fur trading in the early days was their chief pursuit, and as their trade with the Indians, who sold them, lessened, the Dutch wandered away.

Among the Friends who went to Pennsylvania were persons of varied mental and moral cultivation. They were industrious, of fine character, prosperous, and for many years were the controlling element in the province and in legislation. The Welsh Friends were educated people, and for twenty-five years were the only physicians.

Of the many continental people who were borne westward to Pennsylvania, the Germans were the most numerous. Through various sources they learned of Penn's government and offers to settlers. Many influences co-operated in this wonderful transformation scene, the despotism of princes, conflicts between the German states, religious persecutions, military conscriptions. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 cost France 700,000 of her best citizens, many of them fleeing to the Palatinate, whose ruler was a Lutheran. By giving them shelter he drew on himself the vengeance of Madame de Maintenon, who gave orders through her husband, Louis XIV, to destroy the Palatinate. How thoroughly Louis' soldiers accomplished their work is known to every one who has seen the ruined castle of Heidelberg with its ivy clinging to every cranny as if to hide the nakedness wrought by its destroyers. No wonder that the Germans were eager to fly from such foes. A large number soon settled in Germantown; within twenty-five years over 50,000 had come into the province. Many were from the Westphalia country, and near the close of their migration Louis' army laid it waste, burning every hamlet, marketplace and church in the duchy of Cleves.

A few miles from Coblenz on the Rhine is the beautiful town of Neuweid, where lived Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Baptists, Jews and the Moravian brethren. This town also was marked for destruction. Suffering the fate of Heidelberg and Cleves, many of the survivors eagerly fled to Penn's peaceful asylum on the Delaware.

Another class of German emigrants must be mentioned—the Menonites. Persecuted while living under the shadows of the Alps, they went first to Alsace on the Rhine and afterwards to Pennsylvania. Germantown was the magnet; ere long they bought a large tract of land in the Pequea Valley, not far from Lancaster. Girt around by the gloomy

forest, whose silence was unbroken by the murmurs of a honey bee or the twitterings of a bird, they felled trees, built homes and tilled the land. This German-Swiss settlement, in the Eden of Pennsylvania, has retained its essential life for more than two hundred years, notwithstanding its nearness on every side to the loud-rushing civilization of our time.

In 1734 some Lutherans from Salsburg, one of the most beautiful parts of Austria, came to Georgia. Victims of bloody persecution, they emigrated with their pastors and schoolmasters; and not long afterward were joined by several hundred Moravian families. All went well until war broke out in the colony. Then, as their religion forbade them to fight, they started for Penn's peaceful province and settled in Bethlehem.

Finally may be mentioned the Scotch-Irish, who were so called becaused they had descended from the Scots, in the north of Ireland. Brave, hardy and hot-headed, their enmity toward the pope was as sincere as their veneration for Calvin and Knox. They were not particularly fond of Penn; and were more interested in killing an Indian in battle than in saving his life by peaceful art.

Many of the early settlers retained their native characteristics, especially the Germans. Their conversation was German; German was taught their children in the schools; their books, newspapers, deeds and other legal documents were in German. Associated in such large numbers by themselves, does any one wonder why they have so long preserved many of their ways and ideas? There was, however, from an early day a strong bond between them and the Friends. They had had fighting enough in their old home, so they were always ready to unite with the Friends to maintain peace throughout the province. Whenever a rumor of war was heard, started perhaps by the energetic, hot-headed, Scotch-Irish, couriers were sent in every direction among the Germans to tell them that if they would vote and act with the Friends there would be no war, and no higher taxes. These arguments were understood and were effective, and so with the aid of the Germans the Friends retained public control of the province until 1756, nearly to the on-coming

shadows of the revolution.

I have given these details of the national diversities of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, because in them are seen the explanation of several deep imprints that appear in the subsequent history of the state. First, they explain the lack of unity and interest in local matters. In New England the colonists were largely English and among them was more unity of sentiment and action. A common language is everywhere a bond between those who use it. It was natural for the Germans, who came to Pennsylvania in the early days, like the Norwegians, Poles and Huns and other nationalities who have come in later times, to associate together, attend the same church, have their own schools and newspapers, inter-marry and thus unintentionally preserve their distinct national characteristics.

Secondly, the spirit for peace, thus formed under the leadership of Friends, has always been preserved and in marked contrast with the uneasy riotous spirit displayed in other states of our national union. The blessings of order, learned in the provincial days, have never lost their potency, notwithstanding the wondrous growth in numbers and diversity of sentiment among the people, for resistance to government during the century and more of statehood has been rare and brief.

Thirdly, the love of order, thus notably displayed from the beginning at home, explains also the desire of Pennsylvania to maintain peace in the nation,—in other words, their national patriotism. The people of no state displayed this in fuller measure during the Civil War, and in the great world conflict. Of the many who went, of their willingness to go, of their faithfulness and valor, the thousands of graves on the battlefields of the civil and world wars, are the silent lasting witnesses that Penn did not attempt his Holy Experiment in vain.

Though Penn, as we have seen, created a form of government resting on the highest moral and political principles, he did but little personally to direct the destiny of the people. He appointed a governor and other officials who preserved order and administered all his public and private affairs. Only twice did Penn visit his province and even these visits

were brief. The proprietor of this vast estate, a man of the finest culture of the time, had he gone to Pennsylvania to spend his days with the people, his great influence and power would have been felt in every direction. But his interests in England were wide and deep, and even during his short absence in his province they greatly suffered.

One of the most unique things in Penn's scheme of government was his retention of the lordship of the land. In many ways one of the most modern of all the men of note concerned with the colonies, as a land-owner he acted the part of a great feudal nobleman. Instead of selling many acres, most of his land was leased on long terms, the tenant paying a quit rent. And whenever he sold, the grantee or purchaser could not sell without Penn's consent. This is known in feudal law as subinfeudation. You wonder what Penn was trying to accomplish by such a strange medieval regulation. He was playing the part of a great paternal father to his people. By putting such a restriction on the sale of the land, he sought to prevent undesirable citizens from becoming land owners and controllers of the destiny of the province. The same thing is still done in creating villages, especially near our large cities, in order to make them attractive and draw residents. So long as Penn could enforce this restriction, he largely controlled immigration to his province, for if those who desired to come could not buy nor lease land, they were in effect denied entrance.

Like many a dream before and since, it proved to be fleeting. Perhaps the coming of undesirables was somewhat checked, but another difficulty arose which was not forseen. Many, very many, who had agreed to pay rents, as soon as they found that Penn was in deep waters at home and not likely to return to his province, stopped paying their rents; still worse, his trusted agent, cold, sly and slick, proved to be a scoundrel, and Penn's income from his vast possessions crumbled until he became a bankrupt.

If Penn tried to play the good watchful father in keeping all undesirable persons out of the province, in religious things notwithstanding the intensity of his religious belief, he was not blind in his conception of religious liberty, and every one was free to live according to his religious convictions.

The only restriction imposed on any one was in observing Sunday. He insisted that the people should be quiet, otherwise they were left free to worship and act quite as they pleased. That was not after the New England way of doing things. No witches were burned in Pennsylvania, though the province was rank in some places with the kind of material from which witchcraft sprang. Even now the pow-wower still practices his magic art among those who in other regards are not in the least credulous.

As a consequence of Penn's liberal religious principles, all kinds of religious belief blossomed for a season in Pennsylvania. Besides the Friends, Lutherans, German Reformed, Presbyterians and other long established religious bodies, all kinds of religious cranks found a congenial home in the province. Many of them swarmed from the German universities, especially the University of Halle. The German Reformed and Lutherans were numerous, the Menonites were fewer. Nearly like them were the Tunkers, differing chiefly respecting baptism. From them sprang the Siebentager, or German Seventh Baptists, one of the most interesting of all the many religious associations. Some of their wooden buildings with their little windows are still standing. These voluntary exiles, like the pilgrims of New England, were Protestant friars, among whom were many educated men. They lived simple, severe lives, not unlike the order founded by St. Francis of Assisi. Father Friedsham founded the order in Pennsylvania, and men and women flocked from all sides,—even married women left their families to join and lead a more holy life.

Friedsham won over a German Reformed minister, who proved a valuable associate. Some Lutherans were led away, and as the number of hermits increased, a conventicle and monastic convent were established. Kedar was the name of the first convent for the sisters, built in 1735, when the province was half a century old, and three years later Zion was built for the brethren. They adopted the habit of the Capuchins or White Friars, consisting of a shirt, trousers and vest, with a long white woolen gown or cowl in winter, and one of linen for summer. For the sisters the dress was slightly changed. Petticoats for trousers and

a cowl of a somewhat different form. Monastic names were given to all who entered the cloister, though the community was a republic in form. Father Friedsham ruled like a despot. For many years this strange society flourished at Ephrata, about a hundred miles from Philadelphia.

Another association may be mentioned, the Schwenkfelders, so called, who still survive in Central Pennsylvania. Their founder was a Silesian nobleman, Kaspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig, counsellor to the Duke of Liegnitz, a contemporary of Luther. Persecuted at home by both Lutherans and Roman Catholics, they sought shelter under the liberal rule of Penn. Of the Pietists, the last to be noticed, what shall be said? More than one hundred associations existed within a radius of fifty miles from Philadelphia. In lonely retreats they spent their lives of silence and contemplation, like the monks of the Middle Ages,—a strong contrast to the bustling, energetic settlers around them. What strange influences, conscious or unconscious, had led these truly religious people to wander far off into the wilderness and there indulge in musings so foreign to their times? How different, too, might have been their history had Penn attempted to constrain them all into conformity with his own belief. Leaving them alone, the world learned in due time that they were not possessors of a perennial stream, but only a shallow brook that soon ran dry.

Since the moulding of the province depended so much on Penn, notwithstanding the exigency of his affairs at home, why did he not stay in his province? This was his intention in the beginning, and he had a beautiful home built for himself and family at Pennsberry, a few miles up the river. An estate of nearly nine thousand acres was laid out, of which a large portion was kept in a natural state as a park. His house stood on a gentle eminence facing the river. It was built of brick, sixty feet long with additional wings, two stories high and a tile roof. The rooms were in suites, connected with folding doors and wainscoted with English oak. A handsome porch and stone steps led into the spacious hall that extended nearly the whole length of the house.

The gardens were the wonder of the province, un-

equaled in extent and beauty. The most beautiful wild flowers were transplanted into the gardens, trees and shrubs were imported from other colonies, while roots and seeds were sent from England.

Mrs. Penn's side-board, table and high-backed carved chairs were of the finest oak. Turkey worked chairs, arm-chairs for ease and couches with plush and satin cushions were among the articles of furniture, and in the parlor stood the great leather chair of the proprietor.

Penn's table was well served; he had a good cook and occasionally remarked in his pleasantry: "Ah, the book of cookery has outgrown the Bible, and I fear is read oftener; to be sure, it is of more use." Penn's cellers were well stocked with Canary, claret and Madeira, also a bountiful supply of cider and ale. Penn had a brewery built, whose foundation may still be seen.

Penn's family had a coach. Fine horses were imported from England, and he often rode around the country on horseback. He usually went to Philadelphia in a handsome boat rowed by six men. Thus for a few short months he lived in the province in a princely manner, the lord and proprietor of a vast estate, directing the destiny of a rapidly growing people.

Penn was deeply interested in the Indians and they soon learned that he was their sincere friend. He made many journeys among them, never fearing to entrust himself to their protection. During one of these journeys, an Indian tried to convince Penn of the superiority of Indian civilization. "See," said the Indian, "when the white man goes away from his home, he locks his door; when an Indian goes away, he only puts a stick of wood against it to keep the wind from blowing it open." The white men who took advantage of the greater knowledge and love for rascality to cheat the easily deluded Indian merited and received Penn's condemnation.

Penn might indeed rejoice over much that he beheld in his fair province. What suddenly broke into this hopeful prospect? News from home that a bill had been introduced into the House of Lords for seizing his province and vesting it in the crown. Penn therefore was obliged to return.

After getting on board his ship at the end of his first visit, he wrote the following farewell letter concerning the city of his heart: "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service and what travail has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee? My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power."

Of Penn's experiment in America, it may be asserted that it was the most ideal the world has yet known. To found a state in which the military arm was never to be used seemed the most visionary of all political conceptions. At the time of Penn's death in 1718, Philadelphia was seventy-three years old, and the largest city in the colonies. The province was the most generally known of all in Europe, and drew more and more varied people.

And now a closing reflection may be drawn over Penn's Holy Experiment. What would he think were he to revisit his province? Doubtless he would gaze with glad surprise on the millions of acres of smiling fields where once vast gloomy forests overspread the scene. This joy would be lessened in failing to see, wherever he looked, his friendly Indians, for long since every one of them has been crowded off the soil. Great cities have risen as by magic in every part of the province, resounding with the loud noise of men, and the harsher clang, night and day, of machinery. Even silence between the cities and villages is broken by the sharp railway whistle and the grinding railway wheel; while beneath the surface in many places the earth is groaning, struck by the picks of thousands of miners. Most amazing of all, instead of a few thousand persons,—quiet plodders of the soil, content to make an honest living and gather a reasonable store for the future,—is a much larger number, more eager often in amassing wealth than in making a wise use of it. Looking on his experiment today, and contrasting it with his ideal, Penn surely would not call it a Holy one!

Would he despair? Penn who was something of a scholar

and thinker, was still greater as a believer in a Higher Power governing all, and governing well. A century or two is only a small section in the life of a people who imagine their country is to live forever. Ours has safely passed through many a storm, and if men have not learned how to live wisely from hard experience, somehow our country has always righted itself and moved onward. Even the present world-tempest, the most terrible that has ever rocked the earth, will eventually be stilled; and Penn, we may believe, with unshaken faith in God, would calmly wait for the fulness of time, wherein he should see the fulfillment of his Holy Experiment.

THE FRAMING OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

By EDWIN Z. SMITH

The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union adopted by the Continental Congress on November 15, 1777, had, indeed, proved a sufficient bond to link together the rebellious colonies, and carry them triumphantly through their long and arduous struggle for liberty and independence. As long as the War of the Revolution lasted, the absolute necessity for mutual aid and concerted action supplemented the insufficiency of the powers delegated to Congress and counterbalanced the over-looseness of the league of colonies. Yet, at many crucial periods, the cause of the patriots was jeopardized to the point of defeat by the neglect or refusal of the states to answer the requisitions of Congress for men and money, and by the general inadequacy of the executive functions of the central government. After the successful termination of the war and the restoration of peace, the thirteen colonies (now sovereign and independent states leagued together in confederation) addressed themselves with all the vigor of youth and hope to the redressing of the injuries of the war, to the building up of their ruined commerce and trade, and to the development of the magnificent resources of their enormous unopened territories. Then it was that the complete inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation became apparent. The system of government (practically a provisional one) which had barely and by frequent and severe straining of its articles, answered the purposes of the country amid the disorders and stresses of wartimes, failed utterly in its operation upon the now peaceful communities, each immersed in commercial activity and selfishly devoted to its own interests. Not only did the states engage in the most bitter rivalries with each other in matters of commerce and trade, but they paid only the slightest heed to their duties under the confederation; and their legislatures failed to meet the most urgent requirements of Congress for the funds necessary to sup-

port the army, to pay the interest on the debt of the Confederacy, or even to meet the running expenses of the government. Nor was there any means to enforce these requisitions. Many other vital weaknesses in the Constitution developed as time went on. Of them the most serious were the following:

Congress alone had power to declare war; but none to raise, arm or support an army.

It alone could ascertain the revenue necessary to support the government; but could not levy taxes.

It alone could borrow money; but could not repay it. It was the arbiter of all territorial disputes between states; but possessed no power to enforce its decrees. It alone could make treaties; but it had no authority to prevent any state from breaking them. All important measures required the consenting vote of 9 out of the 13 states; and the absence of a state delegation was as effectual as a negative vote. As early as 1780 Alexander Hamilton, then about 23 years old, had detected these and other defects in the constitution and had, in a private letter to James Duane, of New York, pointed out the necessity for their reformation by a convention of all the states. And in May, 1781, Pelatiah Webster, who is described by Madison as "an able but not conspicuous citizen", and who was so inconspicuous that nothing is known of him but this one fact, published a pamphlet embodying the first public proposal for the revision of the Articles of Confederation. The condition of the country during the years that followed the war brought all good citizens to the conviction that such action must be taken if the United States were to continue to exist as such. At home a period of the deepest financial distress supervened, while the discords and rivalries between the states grew even more sharp and bitter. Abroad, the new body politic (not worthy the name of nation) which had won the admiration of foreign powers by its devoted contest against tyranny, had fallen into scorn and contempt by its failure to assert its dignity or respect its obligations. At the close of the war the National debt was $42,000,000.00, of which $8,000,000.00 had been borrowed in France and Holland and the balance at home. The requisitions of Congress upon the states for

interest, from 1782 to 1786, had been $6,000,000.00; and of this only $1,000,000.00 had been paid. The value of the public debt had sunk to 1-10 of its face, and the repeated applications of Congress to the states for the right to levy an impost to meet the federal obligations were as repeatedly refused or ignored. "Every day", says Curtis, "the situation of the country was becoming more and more critical. No money came into the Federal treasury; no respect was paid to Federal authority; and all men saw and admitted that the Confederation was tottering to its fall." Of the condition of affairs at this juncture Hamilton wrote that "no indication of national disorder, poverty or insignificance seemed to be wanting." And Washington in a letter to James Warren, of Massachusetts, in October, 1785, said: "By such policy as this the wheels of government are clogged, and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation which was entertained of us by the wondering world are turned into astonishment; and from the high ground on which we stood we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness."

It was in such a crisis as this, and to a people so desperate of the maintenance of the government under the existing form, that the welcome proposal came from the Annapolis Commercial Convention that all the states should elect delegates to a convention for the purpose of revising and amending the Articles of Confederation. The legislature of New York, in 1782, and the Massachusetts, in 1785, had indeed made similar propositions. But the time was not yet ripe and they did not prevail. Now, however, the urgency and necessity of the situation were clear to all, and no time was lost by the states in taking appropriate action. Congress, indeed, dilatory and perfunctory as usual, delayed its action, and not until its last hope of obtaining from the states the power to levy imposts had vanished, nor until five states, Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Delaware, had already appointed delegates to the proposed convention, did it, on February 21, 1787, pass the resolution, in the following words, calling for such a gathering:—

"It is expedient that, on the 2d Monday in May next, a convention of delegates who shall have been appointed by

the several states, be held at Philadelphia for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein, as shall, when agreed upon by Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

Under these circumstances it was that the Constitutional Convention of 1787 convened in the month of May, in the Old State House in Philadelphia.

And now let us glance for a moment at the personnel of this never-to-be-forgotten assemblage. All of the 13 states were represented except Rhode Island, which sent no delegates and took no part in the Convention. The whole number of delegates appointed was 63, of whom 10 failed to attend; but for 2 of these there were substitutes. The actual number of delegates present was, therefore, 55, including almost all the distinguished and influential men of the country, and representing very exactly its conservative intelligence. John Adams was absent as Minister to England, and Thomas Jefferson as Minister to France. Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, the American Cato, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia, the American Demosthenes, were bitterly opposed to revision, and the latter had refused appointment as a delegate. Neither John Jay, of New York, nor John Marshall, of Virginia, was present at the Convention; but both did yeoman service in securing the ratification of its work by their respective states.

"The Convention", says Curtis, "was a body of great and disinterested men, competent, both morally and intellectually, to do the work assigned them. High qualities of character are requisite to the formation of a system of government for a wide country with different interests. Mere talent will not do it. Intellectual power and ingenuity alone cannot compass it. * * * These qualities were preeminently displayed by many of the framers of the Constitution. There were men in that assembly whom, for genius in statesmanship, and for profound speculation in all that relates to government, the world has not seen overmatched."

Of the members of the Federal Convention 39 had seen

active service in the Continental Congress, 31 were lawyers by profession (of whom 4 had studied in the Inner Temple, and 1 at Oxford, under Sir Wm. Blackstone), 10 had served as judges in their own states and 4, at the time, held judicial positions. One had been a Federal judge; 7 had been judges in special courts for the determination of territorial disputes; 8 had assisted in framing the constitution of their various states; 3 had aided in the revision of state laws; 8 had been governors of states; 5 had been delegates to the Annapolis Convention; and 3 who had held no offices were yet universally recognized as authorities on local government as well as public and international law. Only 3, Elbridge Gerry (Massachusetts), Roger Sherman (Connecticut) and Robert Morris (Pennsylvania) had assisted in framing both the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation; while 4 others, Benjamin Franklin, George Clymer, James Wilson and George Wythe, had signed the former document alone, and 2 others, John Dickinson and Daniel Carroll—the latter. Mr. Hampton L. Carson, in his interesting History of the 100th Anniversary of the Constitution, makes the following classification of the more prominent members:

Jurisconsults: Hamilton and Madison.

Practical Jurists: Oliver Ellsworth, George Wythe, David Brearly, John Blair, George Reed.

Orators: Joseph Wilson, Jared Ingersoll, Abraham Baldwin, and Luther Martin.

Experienced Merchants: Robert Morris, Elbridge Gerry and Thomas Fitzsimmons.

Lawyers of Ability: Richard Bassett, Gunning Bedford and Caleb Strong.

Brilliant Men of all round knowledge and attainments: Gouverneus Morris, John Dickinson, Edmund Randolph, John Rutledge.

Statesmen of temperate wisdom and ripened sagacity: George Washington and Benjamin Franklin.

To this list should certainly be added the names of the two Pinckneys' of South Carolina, Rufus King, of Massachusetts, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, William Patterson, of New Jersey, and Dr. William Samuel Johnson, of Massachusetts.

Of those who exercised the greatest influence in the Convention, and are, therefore, to be regarded as having had the principal part in its results, perhaps these nine names could be selected:

Washington: The soldier and statesman, by common consent the first citizen of the Confederation.

Hamilton: brilliant, eloquent and energetic; notwithstanding his youth, the leading federalist.

Madison: able, talented, laborious, of large public experience; an unsullied and devoted patriot.

Franklin: Now 81 years of age, venerable and beloved; full of worldly wisdom and keen insight.

Rufus King: distinguished as a jurist, statesman, orator and diplomatist; safe in judgment and profound in exposition.

Joseph Wilson: Wise, eloquent and scholarly; an able jurist and experienced publicist.

C. Cotesworth Pinckney: Revolutionary soldier and civilian; brilliant and devoted to his native state (South Carolina) yet ready to compromise his convictions for the sake of the common country.

Edmund Randolph: Then governor of Virginia, an eloquent and able lawyer and a statesman of high rank. The champion of the Constitution in Virginia against the redoubtable Patrick Henry.

Gouverneur Morris: The talented and energetic statesman and financier; an orator of remarkable eloquence and a writer of extraordinary power and of elegant style.

The Convention was to have convened on the 14th day of May, but it was the 25th before a quorum was secured. Washington was at once and unanimously elected to the presidency upon the motion of Robert Morris, (of Pennsylvania) seconded by John Rutledge (of South Carolina), and served throughout the sessions of the Convention with serene dignity and marked ability. With the utmost difficulty had Washington been persuaded to accept an appointment to represent his native state in the Convention. After 9 years of storm and stress, of unremitting service and overwhelming responsibility, he had retired to his estate at Mt. Vernon,

to spend, as he hoped, the remainder of his days in peace and repose. Though fully sensible (as his correspondence shows) of the critical state of the country and of the defects of the Constitution, he had, apparently, not fully made up his mind as to what changes should be made in it. He had, moreover, already declined an invitation to attend a bi-ennial meeting of the Order of Cincinnati, to be held at Philadelphia at the same time as the convention. But, as Bancroft remarks, "the doom of greatness was upon him" and he was finally persuaded by Madison and other friends, and coerced by his high sense of duty to his country, into assuming the head of the Virginia delegation, upon which Patrick Henry, Robert Hyde Lee and Thomas Nelson had declined to serve. In the latter part of April he left Mt. Vernon, and journeyed, attended everywhere by public honors, to Philadelphia. At Chester he was met by the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and other persons of distinction, and at Gray's Ferry a military escort, the City Light Horse, was waiting to accompany him to town, while all the church bells rang out a joyous welcome. His first act, after his arrival, was to wait upon the venerable Dr. Franklin, the President of Pennsylvania. It is said that upon assuming the chair, he turned to the Convention, and with "countenance more than usually solemn, his eye seeming to look into futurity" addressed his counsel of warning and exhortation to the delegates: "It is too probable", he said, "that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God!" These words, gloomy and portentous as they may seem, are nevertheless not far from expressing the spirit in which the majority of the delegates approached the great work before them. Absolutely essential as was a revision of the Constitution to the perpetuation of the Union, commercial rivalries and reprisals had become so bitter, territorial conflicts as strenuous, and the idea of state sovereignty so exaggerated, that it was almost beyond hope that the members of the confederation would agree upon a working plan

which would sufficiently curtail the powers of the separate states and strengthen the forces of the central government. Moreover, the smaller states were jealous, to the verge of fear, of the larger, and came into the convention resolved not to accept any measures which would deprive them of an equal representation with their wealthier, stronger and more populous neighbors. Only by the exercise of the greatest wisdom, forbearance and patriotism was it possible that agreement could be reached among such conflicting interests and opinions. But these qualities were magnificently evident through all the sessions of the convention. And although more than once matters came to a deadlock from which there seemed no escape but dissolution, better counsels always prevailed and compromises were effected. Indeed, the story of the convention is a history of mutual concessions, which finally produced an instrument so admirably balanced and yet so powerful, that Winthrop, speaking of its system of counter-checks and its general strength, likens it to "one of those rocking stones reared by the Druids, which the finger of a child may vibrate to its center, yet which the might of an army cannot move from its place."

The debates of the convention were wisely made secret, so that the delegates were free from public pressure from without; and it was not known until after their labors were concluded how difficult it had been to harmonize the discordant elements. The last act of the Convention was a resolution that all its papers be left with Washington, subject to the order of the new Congress, should it ever be organized, under the new Constitution. In 1796 he deposited the record of the proceedings—in 3 manuscript volumes—with the State Department; and the whole was published in 1819. Private notes of the debates were taken by several members, notably by James Madison, who every evening, no matter what the labor or strain of the day, wrote out a minute and detailed account of its discussions, which has proved invaluable to all students of Constitutional history.

"The problem before the delegates," says Hare, "was not to establish the best government, but one which would be best suited to the circumstances, and which the American people would accept." "And this", he continues, "was one of

the momentous problems which Providence sometimes propounds to nations, and hangs their fate on the response; and from its very magnitude and the anxiety it aroused, divided the Convention into nearly equal camps."

Of these two factions one was the nationalizing party, which advocated the effacing, as far as possible, of state lines, and the construction of a strong Federal power; and its leaders in debate were Hamilton, Madison, King, Wilson and Gouverneur Morris. The other was the decentralizing or states-rights party, which was led by Lansing, Yates, Patterson, Martin and Bedford. Gerry, Mason and Randolph began with the former party, but went over to the opposition when they thought it was going too far. Franklin, Johnson, Sherman, Ellsworth and the two Pinckneys were to be found voting on one side or the other, as their anxiety for conciliation and compromise overcame their natural bent.

No single point divided the Convention so long or so dangerously as the question of equal representation in the Senate. This was the occasion of the desertion of Yates and Lansing, delegates from New York, who left the convention saying that they would never have been sent there had their constituents known what things were to be attempted. By their defection only Hamilton remained to represent New York, and he, left without a vote, could only aid by his counsel.

The debate on this subject was most acrimonious, and again and again it seemed as though the Convention was about to go to pieces over it. Probably it was in the course of this discussion that the white-haired Franklin arose and proposed that henceforth the sessions should be opened with prayer, for now there was no hope except from Heaven—the wit of man was exhausted.

The scope of this paper permits of no detailed account of the proceedings of the Convention; but a brief resume of the more important controversies may prove instructive. Hardly had the Convention been organized when Governor Randolph, of Virginia, brought forward on behalf of the nationalists what was known as the *Virginia* plan, designed to establish a more energetic government and reduce the idea of states to a minimum. It was mainly favored by the

large states and consisted of 15 resolutions whose main features were: That congress should consist of two branches, in both cases based on population; that the representatives should be chosen by the people, the senate by the representatives, and the president by the two houses together; that a federal judiciary be formed; that the executive, with part of the judiciary, have a limited veto power over acts of congress; that congress, besides possessing the powers now vested in it by the Confederation, should legislate whatever state legislation might interrupt the harmony of the United States (as, for example, in regard to taxation, commerce and the like); and it should have a veto power over state laws and the authority to coerce delinquent states. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina the same day submitted a draft of a constitution in 16 articles, not radically different from that embodied in the *Virginia* plan. On May 30th, the Convention, in Committee of the Whole, took up the *Virginia* plan, and on June 13th reported it favorably to the convention with some alterations produced by the debate; mainly as follows: That there ought to be a national government; that representatives hold office 3 years and senators 7 years; that the power of coercing the states be not granted; that the executive consist of one person elected for 7 years and thereafter ineligible; and that the executive alone exercise the veto power. The next day a request was made for an adjournment, as a federal, or league, plan of government was in preparation and would be prepared. And on June 15th, the *Jersey* plan was offered by Mr. Patterson of New Jersey, representing the decentralizing, or small-states, party. It contained 11 resolutions, tending principally to retain and amend the Articles of Confederation; to continue the congress of one chamber and the equal vote of each state therein; to cede to congress the powers of raising a revenue, of controlling commerce, of coercing any state which should refuse to pay its quota or obey the laws, and of electing an executive. This plan also went to the Committee of the Whole. While these plans were under debate, Hamilton, objecting radically to the *Jersey* plan as a mere perpetuating of the state sovereignty of the Confederation, and owning to little more preference for the *Virginia* plan as only (so he

said) "pork still, with a little change of sauce", suggested a plan of his own, whose main provisions were as follows: The house of representatives to be chosen by the people for 3 years, the senate for life by electors chosen by the people, governors of states to be appointed by the Federal government and to have an absolute veto on the acts of their state legislatures. This plan, which was surely centralization with a vengeance, was, so a historian writes "praised by everybody, and supported by none." It seems not to have been seriously considered.

On June 19th the Committee of the Whole reported adversely to the *Jersey* plan, and favorably to the *Virginia* plan. Thus two schemes of government had been proposed, whose terms were in almost every salient particular absolutely incompatible; and the war between the factions was on.

Before the *Jersey* plan had been rejected, Dickinson (of Delaware) had proposed a consolidation of the two plans, if possible; and on June 21st, Dr. Wm. Samuel Johnson, (of Connecticut) had struck the keynote of the situation by proposing to give an equal representation in the senate and a proportionate representation in the house. This proposition for compromise he again put forward more strongly on June 29th, and Oliver Ellsworth, (of Connecticut) moved formally that such a provision be made. July 2nd the motion was put and lost. The five large states, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Massachusetts, (New York having no vote) voting against, and the five small ones: Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland and New Hampshire, for it; with one, Georgia, equally divided. The convention had now "got to a point where it could not move one way or the other." The dispute had lasted for three days and was exceptionally bitter and violent. Gouverneur Morris, speaking of the demand of the small states for equal representation, exclaimed prophetically: "This country must be united. If persuasion does not unite it, the sword will!" And Gerry seemed to despair of any solution of the controverted question when he said: "A secession would take place * * * for some gentlemen seem decided on it!" The whole matter was now referred to a compromise committee of one member from each

state, and it, on July 5th, reported Ellsworth's compromise, with two additional provisions; first: that the house of representatives, elected on a basis of 40,000 population, (which the larger states were expected to control) should originate all financial legislation; second: that 3-5 of the slaves were to be included in the estimate of population for representation. The former amendment was intended to placate the large states; the latter to catch the vote of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Like all compromises, it was at first extremely unpopular and hardly found a favoring voice in the convention. But the more it was debated the better it was liked; until finally, it was, with the addition of a power given the senate to propose amendments to money bills, put to a vote and carried. The two propositions (as to senate and house) were voted on separately, the vote on the senate provision being 7 states against 6 and on the house proposition, 5 states favoring, 3 opposed and 3 divided. "The senate, therefore," says Alex. Johnson, "whose conception has received warmer admiration than that of any other feature in the constitution, owes its existence, in its present form, entirely to an unwilling compromise of the conflicting demands of the large and small states." No doubt this is one of the incidents of the convention that furnish Von Holst, one of the most vigorous and unsparing critics of the constitution, his warrant for asserting as a "historical fact that the Constitution had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people."

After a similar long and hard fought battle over the granting to congress the right to regulate and control commerce, this absolute and essential power was granted; but not until, by another compromise, the provision was added that no duty or tax should be laid on articles exported from any state. By this, the second compromise, congress was granted complete control over national and interstate commerce, with the exception of the restriction on its power to tax exports.

A third compromise was found necessary when the question of the slave trade was under consideration. Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina, which had previously given notice through Cotesworthy Pinckney that

they would never accept a constitution which did not afford proper protection to the interests of the slaveholders, now emphatically refused to enter the Union unless its congress should be forbidden to stop this traffic, or to tax it excessively. Once more the convention was brought to a standstill, and a compromise committee was again selected, which presently reported the 3rd important compromise of the Convention. Congress was to be forbidden to prohibit the importation of slaves, when permitted by state laws, until 1808; but a tax of $10.00 per capita might be imposed on such imports. Thus the slave made trade was brought at once under the revenue control of congress, and 20 years later, under its complete commercial control. No parts of the Constitution have received more severe criticism and condemnation than those which were the results of the "two compromises of a moral question." But it must be remembered that to but a few members of the convention was slavery a moral question. Only in Massachusetts and New Hampshire had public opinion on the subject so far advanced as to abolish slavery. And had no compromise been attained, the result would have been the erection of two or more separate nations on this continent, with their concomitant armies and inevitable wars; surely an evil to be avoided at almost any cost.

These instances will furnish an imperfect suggestion of the difficulties and crises in the work of the convention in the course of its sustained, but finally successful labors. After a continuous session of 4 months the constitution, in its essentials, was agreed upon and on September 12, 1787, it was referred for revision to a Committee on Style and Arrangement, consisting of Wm. S. Johnson, Hamilton, Madison, King and Gouverneur Morris, to the last named of whom the work of re-drafting was mainly intrusted. "To his pen belongs the merit of that clear and finished style—that *lucidus ordo*—that admirable perspicuity—which has so much diminished the labors and hazards of interpretation for all future ages."

On September 13th, the constitution was reported to the convention in form almost as it is now. Some few changes were made, propositions for new articles were voted down as too late, and a rule was adopted, which seemed

likely to seriously endanger the ratification of the constitution by the states.

This was the negativing of a proposition for a new convention to consider any amendments which might be proposed by the states. It was a direct challenge to the destructive and dissatisfied element in the convention, and imposed on the states the alternatives of unconditional adoption or rejection of the constitution as it stood. Many delegates who had hoped to secure amendments through action of their states, now refused to sign; so that of 55 members who had been in attendance, 16 refused or neglected to attach their signatures. This number included Randolph, Gerry and Mason; Luther, Martin, Lansing and Yates having previously left the convention.

On September 15, 1787, the constitution was agreed to by all the states present, but there were in some of them dissentient minorities; and Hamilton, though he signed, could not cast his state's vote in its favor. On the last day of the session, September 17th, the broad sheet of parchment, on which was engrossed that document, pregnant with the destiny of a great nation, was brought in and placed on a table for signature. Unanimity was regarded as of much importance and Gouverneur Morris suggested its ingenious form of attestation, said to have been devised by the astute Franklin, as one that might be signed without implying approval:—"Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present."

Concerning the formality of its signing, in that twice hallowed chamber in the Old State House in which the immortal Congress of 1776 had assembled, two interesting traditions, among others, are extant.

Dr. Franklin disapproved of many provisions in the constitution, but finally agreed to it, like the philosopher that he was, because he had expected nothing better and was not sure it was not the best that could be secured. "Whilst the last members were signing," writes Madison, Dr. Franklin looking towards the president's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters often found it difficult in their art to distinguish an ascending from a de-

clining sun. 'I have,'—said he—'often and often, in the course of the session and the vicissitude of my fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising sun.'" The second anecdote is of Gen. Washington, who, when about to sign this instrument, arose, and holding the pen in his hand, after a solemn pause, uttered these words: "Should the states reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is that an opportunity will never again offer to cancel another in peace—the next will be drawn in blood."

So, and by such men, was framed the Constitution of the United States of America. "The God of Wisdom," says Carson, "illuminated the deliberations of that hour. The labors of that day preserved for all time the precious fruits of freedom and self-government. Unique in origin, without a prototype in design, of enduring strength and of phenomenal success, in the history of political philosophy the Constitution will always stand alone!"

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

207—Painting, 39x60

"Fort Duquesne 1755." On the evening of Braddock's defeat. Painted by W. C. Wall, 1856.

Presented by the late John A. Harper.

208—Painting 30x36

"Old Smoky Island," used by the Indians during the French and Indian War, as their hiding place for American prisoners. Fort Duquesne was in the background. Painted by W. C. Wall, 1848.

Presented by the Misses Ivy and Laura Cluley.

209—Portrait 39x59

of the Right Hon. William Pitt. Painted by James Kinsella.

Presented anonymously.

210—Engraving 48x50

Henry Clay before the United States Senate, A. D. 1850. Engraved by William Smith, Philadelphia, Penn'a., 1855.

Loaned by Miss H. B. Clark.

211—Photograph 38x55

The wonderful lineup of steam vessels in the harbor at Pittsburgh, Penna., October 31, 1911, during the observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the sailing of the first steamer on the Ohio. A replica of this first vessel (The New Orleans) was christened by Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, and exhibited to the vast multitude of sightseers, including President Taft, the most distinguished guest of the occasion, who sailed down the line in the "Virginia" and reviewed the hundreds of whistling craft.

Presented anonymously.

212—Frame 36x40

Containing the photograph of George Westinghouse, founder of the Westinghouse Works.

Presented by A. G. Holmes.

213—Frame 30½x34

Containing a shield of "Old-Paper-Money."

Loaned by Dr. John L. Phillips.

214—Engraving 28½x34½

Washington receiving a salute on the field of Trenton. By John Faed, R. S. A. and Wm. Holl.

Loaned by Dr. John Phillips.

215—Frame 28½x39

View of the Monongahela River at the Point and photographs of members of the "Eclipse Barge Club."

Presented by Mrs. Robert Milligan.

216—Engraving 27x32

"Washington's Adieu to His Generals." Engraved by permission from the original drawing, in the collection of the late Washington Irving. By F. O. C. Darley, Fecit and George R. Hall, Sculptor.

Presented by Thomas M. Walker.

217—Frame 36x40

Containing photographs of uniforms worn by the "Pittsburgh Washington Infantry" 1808-1913. 1—Pittsburgh Blues, War 1812. 2—Jackson Blues, Mexican War. 3—Washington Infantry, 1853. 4—Washington Infantry, 1858. 5—Washington Infantry, 1861. 6—Washington Infantry, 13th Penn'a. Vol's., 1861, 102nd P. V. V. 7—Washington Infantry, 102nd P. V. V., 1861, "Full Dress." 8—Washington Infantry, 1869. 9—Washington Infantry, 19th Reg't. N. G. P., Railroad Riots, 1877. 10—Washington Infantry, 1878. 11—Washington Infantry Members—Spanish War, 1898. 12—Washintgon Infantry, 1913. 13—Washington Infantry, Winter Uniform, 1913. Photos by J. M. Rosser.

Presented by Capt. John H. Niebaum.

218—Lithograph 25½x20

"Christ's Methodist Episcopal Church." By Wegner & Buechner, Lith., 60 Market Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Presented anonymously.

219—Photograph 22x25

"The Oil Trade of Pittsburgh, 1869." The Dalzell Building, 1869, corner of Duquesne Way and Irwin Street, later Seventh Street, now Sandusky. National Casket Co. now occupies the old site, on the opposite corner "Scott House," "Robinson House," later the Boyer, torn down in 1915 to make room for the Elks' Building. A photograph of 138 members of "The Oil Trade of Pittsburgh 1869" is given.

Presented by the late Stanhope S. Pinkerton.

220—Engraving 27½x35

"The Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776." Painted by J. Trumbull. Engraved by W. L. Ormsby, after Durand.

Presented by T. M. Walker.

221—Photograph 20½x24

"Stephen Collins Foster."

Presented by Mrs. Francis J. Torrance.

222—Photograph 23x26

"Steamboat Francis J. Torrance," of the Monongahela & Ohio River Transportation Co.

Presented by Mrs. Francis J. Torrance.

223—Frame 18x24

Containing a photograph of "The Historical Hartford," Admiral Farragut's Flagship, "The U. S. S. Pennsylvania Most Powerful Super-Dreadnaught Afloat."

Presented anonymously.

224—Photograph 29x31

"The Railroad Riots at Pittsburgh, July 21st and 22nd, 1877." View in front of Malleable Iron Works of McConway, Torley Co., Liberty St., between 25th & 26th Streets.

Presented anonymously.

225—Photograph 29x31

"View From Roof of Malleable Iron Works of M'Conway, Torley & Co." Engines in lower round house and debris of car shops, buildings occupied by Philadelphia troops, Saturday and Sunday, July 21st and 22nd, 1877.

Presented anonymously.

Members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania who died in 1921

Herbert E. Anderson
Mrs. Henry J. Bailey
Frank L. Blair
John Bindley
William A. Clugston
Edwin S. Craig
John D. Fraser
Miss Martha Graham
Miss Priscilla S. Guthrie
John A. Harper
David F. Henry
Julius Hertz
John W. Jordan LL. D.
Philadelphia Penn'a.
William J. Patton
Howard J. Patton
Greensburg, Penna.
Marvin F. Scaife
Mrs. Charles Stewart
William Clyde Wilkins

NOTES AND QUERIES

ON NOVEL READING*

Extracts from a sermon preached in 1850 by the Rev. Charles Cooke, D. D., of the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and published in a volume of sermons, the proceeds of the sale of which went to Allegheny College. The text was from Jonah, Second Chapter, Eighth Verse: "They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy."

The term "lying vanities" is of similar import with the words "a vain show." Such are idols and idol worship. Such also is the world—its honors, wealth and pleasures. Of these, inspiration declares, "all is vanity."

The field is wide, too wide, as now presented, to be explored in a single discourse. I shall therefore confine myself to one point, and invite attention to but one class of "lying vanities." But its name is legion; for who can tell the number of fictitious works, from the "three-volumed" book to the penny pamphlet, with which the world is flooded. The novel is found on the lady's toilet, open at the page over which long after midnight darkness cast its veil.

Again we remark, they are always false, though it is often alleged they are "founded in fact." This is so much like saying a house is a stone house, though built of brick or wood, because its foundation is stone, with a view to getting a better price in the sale of it, that one scarcely knows whether to be most diverted or provoked at this trick of novelists and their publishers to vend such empty ware.

He who reads a book of fiction is as though he sat down to listen to a man manufacturing falsehoods by the yard. When we become men, we should put away childish things; yet this is the very way in which children amuse themselves in a long winter evening. In them it may be borne with, for "children and youth are vanity;" but in men and women, or in those who are verging to maturity, it is unseemly, to say the least, if not criminal.

Will the reader listen to a word of exhortation? Are you a parent? As you would not put the inebriating cup to your child's lips, lest it eventuated in a habit destructive to every interest, and blighting to all your hopes, do not put an intoxicating book in his hands. You would scarcely commit a greater blunder by putting a pack of cards in his pocket. As you desire his mind to be enlightened, his heart to be sanctified, and his life to be regulated by the moral precepts of the Bible, do not give him a moral and intellectual dyspepsia, by ministering to his already vitiated appetite the racy and inflammatory caterings of novelists and romancers. Are you a young husband? Beware

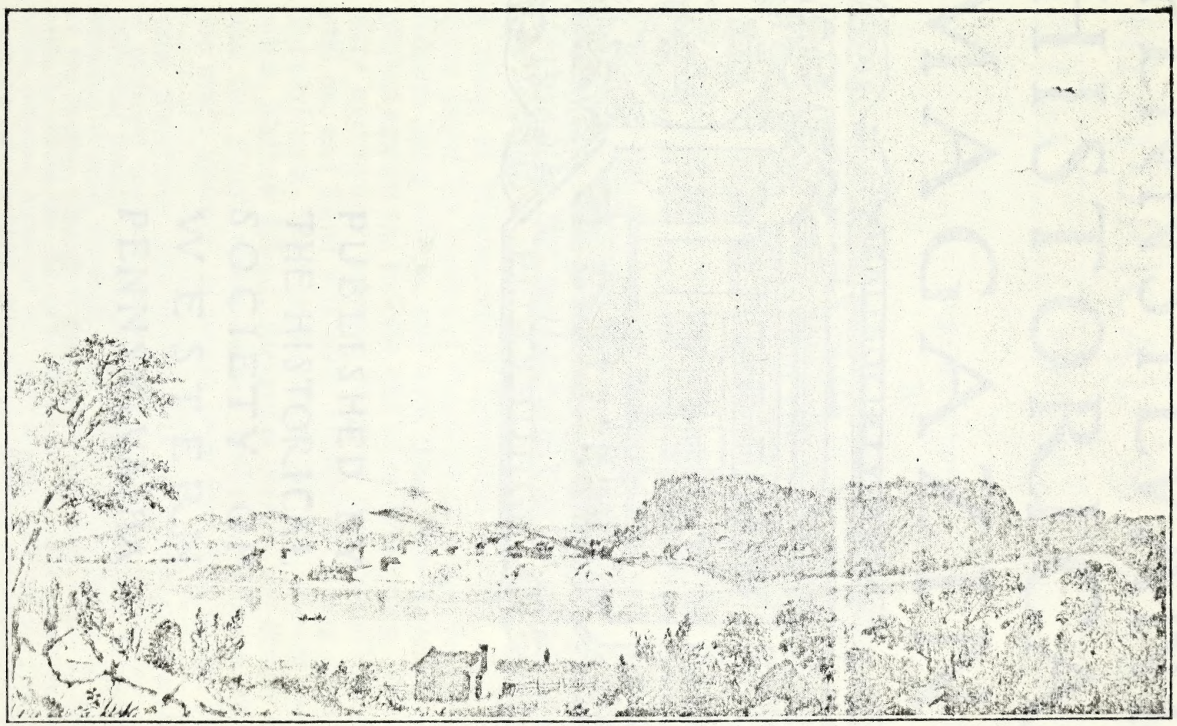
**Original Sermons*, Pittsburgh, 1850, pp. 296-311.

how you lay upon your wife's table, to amuse her in your absence, such works as could have had no other origin than a heart swollen with passion, or steeped in sensuality. You may thus be sowing to the wind, and will reap the whirlwind. Are you a wife? Do not take advantage of a confiding husband's warmest affections, to compel him to ruin you, by gratifying your appetite for fancy and fiction. You may learn to suspect, and be taught too provokingly to express your unfounded suspicions; and thus the evil you feared may be brought about. Where then will domestic bliss be? And what is the married life without it? A life of disappointment and woe! Are you young? If you desire to live to some purpose—to contribute in some degree to the happiness of the world—to please God, and secure the rewards of a blissful immortality; drink not at the fountain of fiction, however sparkling the stream, and, for the time being, refreshing the draught. There is poison in it—deadly, damning poison. It will first intoxicate, and then, like every other kind of intemperance, kill you with absolute inanity, or plunge you into inextricable labyrinths of folly and crime. To all and every one inspiration proclaims—"buy the truth, and sell it not". It is often more strange than fiction, and always more worthy the time employed in its perusal, and the immortal mind it impresses. And may he who said, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life," guide you into all truth, and bring you to that land of holy realities, where fiction is not known, and God is loved supremely, and enjoyed forever. Amen.

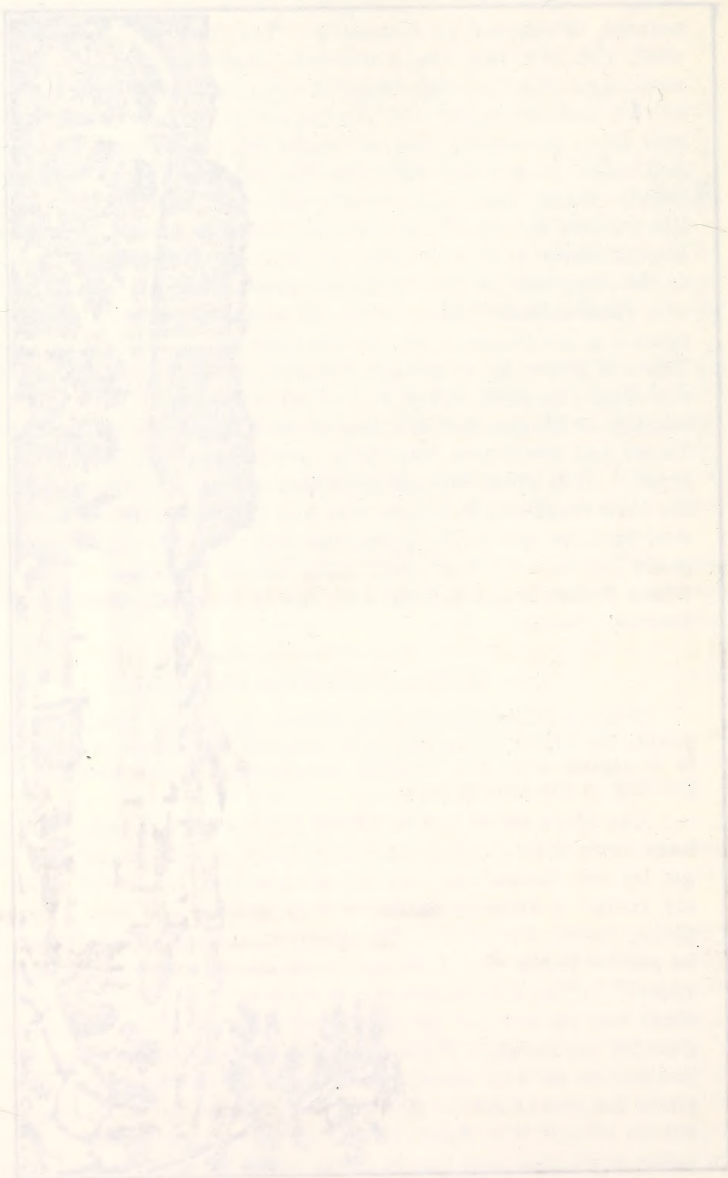
HOW I CAUGHT A BURGLAR

Being a school composition written by Samuel McCain, aged eleven years, the effort being probably inspired by the wave of crime which is sweeping over the country, accounts of which are constantly appearing in the newspapers.

One night about twelve o'clock I got awake in bed. I heard somebody down stairs and I knew everybody in our family was asleep. I got up and dressed and got my air gun and flashlight which were in my room. I stole down stairs very quietly and saw a light in the dining room. I crept into the dining room and yelled "hands up" and he put his hands up. I did not know the man so I said "What is your name?" but he did not answer, so by that time John my brother (aged nine) was up and had his gun. I told him to call up the police while I guarded the burglar. While John was calling up the police the burglar jumped on me and threw me down, but just then John came in and aimed his gun at the burglar and said, "Stand up!" The burglar would not do so and then John got on top of him and pulled him off. The police came just then and arrested him. John and I then went to bed and told the rest of the family in the morning. John and I got ten thousand dollars reward.



Pittsburgh in 1790.
As Sketched by Lewis Brantz.
From Schoolcraft's "Indian Antiquities."



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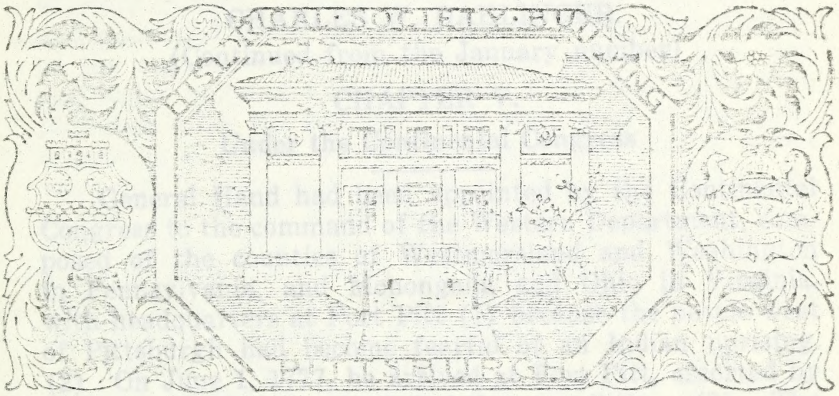

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Vol. 5 No. 2 APRIL, 1922 Price 75 cents

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By

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

(Continued from the January number)

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lines, and on May 2, 1778, he was recalled by resolution of Congress. (4)

On May 19, 1778, Washington appointed Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh as Hand's successor. (5) On August 6th he assumed command at Fort Pitt. His greatest achievement was the treaty which he concluded with the Delawares at Fort Pitt on September 19, 1778, whereby they bound themselves to the American cause and agreed to join in the contemplated expedition against the Western Indians. Late in October, McIntosh left Fort Pitt and proceeded to the mouth of Beaver Creek, where many of the regular troops and militia had preceded him, and had begun building a large stockade which was called Fort McIntosh after the General. The main body of the army consisting of twelve hundred men, more than half of whom were militia from northwestern Virginia, proceeded as far as the Tuscarawas, where the Delaware Indians met them. Fort Laurens was built; winter came on; dissatisfaction arose between the officers, the campaign proved a failure and on February 20, 1779, at his own request, McIntosh was recalled by resolution of Congress. (6)

Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had been McIntosh's second in command, was appointed to succeed him on March 5, 1779. (7) On April 5th, McIntosh surrendered the command to Brodhead. (8) Great plans were in contemplation, but they all ended in a campaign against the Indians on the upper Allegheny River, which began on August 11th. Brodhead proceeded as far as the present boundary of the state of New York, but the Indians had burned their villages and fled before the approaching army. (9) On April 7, 1781, Brodhead left Fort Pitt on his expedition against the Delaware Indians at Coshocton, who had gone over to the British. Completely surprised, the Indians were easily overcome, many being taken prisoners and the remainder dispersed; and their town was destroyed. (10)

It was during this time that part of the ground belonging to Fort Pitt began to be encroached upon by settlers and Colonel Brodhead wrote about the matter to the Secretary of War. On June 22, 1779, he also complained to Timothy Pickering,

President of Pennsylvania: "The inhabitants of this place are continually encroaching on what I conceive to be the rights of the garrison * * *. They have now the assurance to erect their fences within a few yards of the bastions * * *. The block houses likewise, which are part of the strength of the place, are occupied by private persons to the injury of the service.". (11) On November 22, 1779, he again wrote to Pickering, "I hope the Hon. Congress has come to a determination what extent of clear ground to allow this garrison. The inhabitants on this side the Alleghany Hills profess a great law knowledge, and it would be exceedingly disagreeable to me to be pestered with their silly courts, and therefore the service will suffer until the pleasure of Congress is known respecting it." (12)

At Fort Pitt provisions were obtained with difficulty. The inhabitants of the neighboring country refused to accept the depreciated Continental currency. At Pittsburgh the troops marched in a body to the commandant's house and protested against their lack of rations. Force was resorted to to obtain the needed provisions. Charges were made against Brodhead that he was taking advantage of his position to further his private interests. (13) On May 5, 1781, Washington summoned Brodhead to Philadelphia, and on May 6th, Brodhead turned over the command to Colonel John Gibson and the next day left for that city. (14) On September 24th, Brigadier General William Irvine was appointed by Congress to the command of the Western Department.

Leaving Philadelphia on October 9th, (15) Irvine probably reached Fort Pitt in the middle or latter part of the month. At Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19th, Cornwallis had surrendered the flower of the British forces in America to the allied American and French armies, and the war was practically over. The news of the great victory reached Fort Pitt shortly after Irvine's arrival and his first important act was on November 6th to issue a proclamation congratulating the troops on the surrender, and ordering thirteen pieces of artillery be fired at one o'clock in the fort, at which time the troops were to be under arms, with their colors displayed. He further directed the commissary to issue "a gill of liquor extraord-

inary to the non-commissioned officers and privates on this joyful occasion." (16)

During the administration of both McIntosh and Brodhead at Fort Pitt, the works had been sadly neglected and at the close of Brodhead's command the fort was said to be almost in ruins. This policy was immediately changed under Irvine. On December 3, 1781, he wrote to the Board of War: "Any person to look at the place and be told that a number of artificers were employed, I believe they would rather imagine they were pulling down than building up or repairing. Such a complete heap of ruins to retain the name of a post, I believe cannot be found in any other place." (17) And in the summer of 1782, Irvine made extensive repairs. On October 29th he wrote to Washington about them: "A new row of picketing is planted on every part of the parapet where the brick revetment did not extend, and a row of palisading is nearly finished to the ditch—above all a complete new magazine, the whole arched with stone—some parts of the ramparts and parapets are much broken down, a new main gate and drawbridge are wanted and some small earthworks are necessary to be erected." (18)

It was during this time that the British planned an attack on Fort Pitt, and a force of three hundred soldiers and five hundred Indians with twelve pieces of artillery, was sent from Canada for the purpose. They reached Lake Chautauqua and had already embarked in canoes for the further journey when word was received from spies, that the fort had been repaired and much strengthened. In consequence of this information the campaign was abandoned and the soldiers returned to Canada. Detachments of Indians, together with numerous Tories, were, however, sent out in different directions to harass the settlements on the borders of Pennsylvania. One of these bands, consisting of three hundred Indians and sixty Tories, under command of Kiyasuta, the Seneca chief, who had been so conspicuous in the Indian war of 1763, fell upon Hannastown on July 13, 1782.

The county court had just adjourned and those in attendance had gone to their homes, and many had resumed their labors in the fields when the foe appeared. The object

of the attacking party seemed to be to surprise the inhabitants and make them prisoners, rather than to attack them, but at the first alarm the settlers had hastened into the blockhouse. Thereupon the Indians and Tories began a vigorous attack on the building. Being unable to reduce the structure they commenced plundering the houses in the village, finally setting them on fire. This accomplished, the force withdrew, carrying with them their booty and the few prisoners they had taken.

Large areas, both in New York and Pennsylvania and to the westward of both states, were still owned by the Indians. The country across the Allegheny and Ohio rivers from Fort Pitt was all Indian territory and was forbidden to white men, and on February 25, 1783, Irvine issued an order regarding the same. (19) "Persons ferrying, either men or women, across the Allegheny River, or who shall be found crossing into what is generally called the Indian Country, between Kittanning and Fort McIntosh, without a written permit from the commanding officer at Fort Pitt or orders for that purpose—until further orders, shall be treated and prosecuted for holding or aiding others to correspond and give intelligence to the enemy."

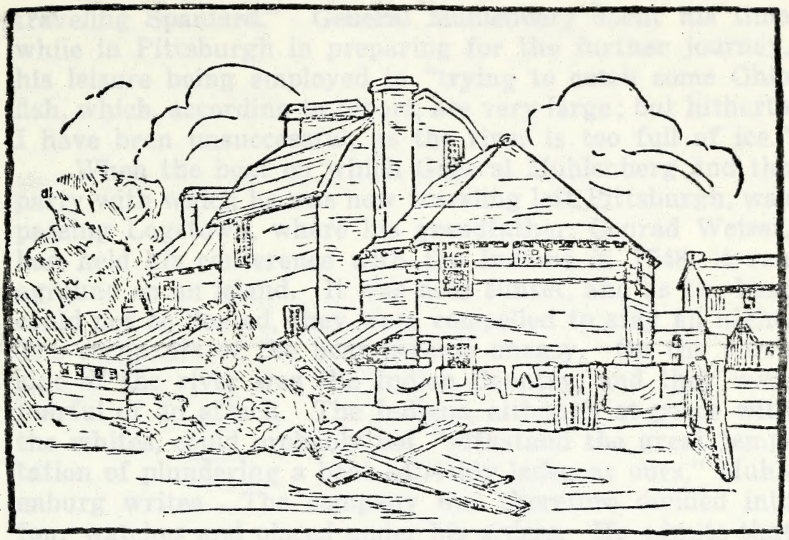
The Revolution being over, Irvine, on October 1, 1783, left Pittsburgh finally (20), Captain Marbury assuming the command in his place.

Peace was declared by a preliminary treaty between Great Britain and the United States on November 30, 1782, the definitive treaty being signed at Versailles on September 3, 1783. Immigration to the West was now resumed and soon reached dimensions hitherto unknown. Also travelers came for purposes of pleasure, trade, or to inspect the lands in the Western country, who either made Pittsburgh the end of their journey, or tarried there in order to prepare for a continuation farther west. Among the earliest of the foreigners to arrive was Dr. Johann David Schoepf, who had been chief surgeon of the Anspach troops, a contingent of the German auxiliaries who fought on the British side in the Revolution, (21) accompanied by an Englishman named Hairs. The two men arrived in Pitts-

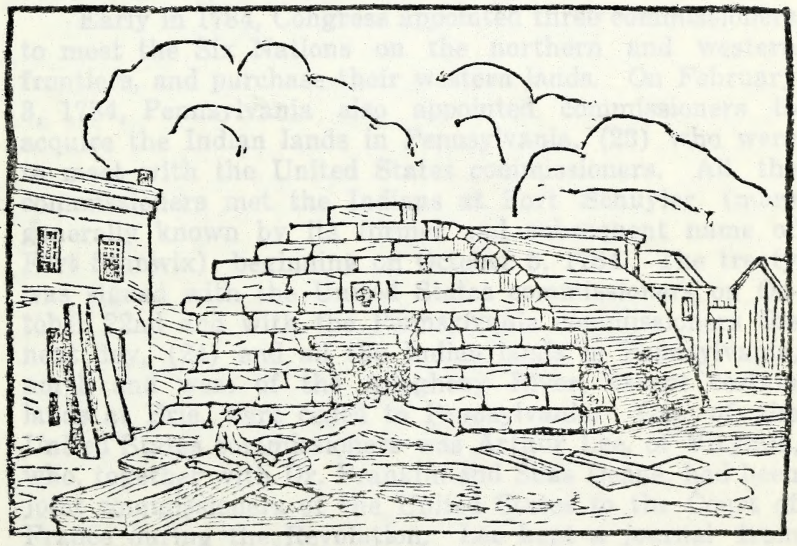
burgh on September 6, 1783, and remained seven days. Speaking of their reception, Dr. Schoepf relates: "Not we, but our vehicle, had the honor of being the first object of their curiosity, for we had come the whole way in a two-wheeled chaise." The place, he said, "numbers at this time perhaps sixty wooden houses and cabins, in which live something more than a hundred families * * *. The first stone house was built this summer. * * * Of public houses of worship or justice, there are none as yet. The state of Pennsylvania, as is customary in this country, sends hither a judge once or twice a year to administer the law * * *. However little to be regarded the place is now, from its advantageous site, it must be that Pittsburgh will in the future become an important depot for inland trade." He expressed his gratitude for the reception accorded him by the men to whom he had been opposed in the war just closed. "I should not fail to mention the courtesies and assistance rendered us by the officers of the garrison, and I must especially acknowledge our obligations to the commander of the fort, General Irvine, and to Colonel Bayard."

Another distinguished stranger who came to Pittsburgh shortly after the Revolution, was General Peter Muhlenberg, the former pastor of the German Lutheran Church at Woodstock, whose services in the Revolution had enabled him to attain the rank of major general. He remained for three weeks while on his way to the Falls of Ohio, now Louisville, having been appointed by Virginia one of the Superintendents to locate lands intended for the officers and soldiers of the Virginia line in the Continental service. (22) He was accompanied by his friend, Captain Paske', and records that he reached "Fort Pitt" in the afternoon of March 10, 1784. He must have attracted attention even in this frontier settlement as he rode into town, having, as he relates, a "perfect resemblance to Robinson Crusoe." He states that he had "four belts around him, carried two brace of pistols, wore a sword and had a rifle slung over his shoulder, and carried a pouch and a tobacco-pipe, which was not a small one." He concludes his description: "Add to this the blackness of my face, which occasioned the inhabitants to take me for a

TWO RELICS OF FORT PITT.
From Sketches made by Russell Smith in 1832.



The Old Redoubt.



The Powder Magazine.

traveling Spaniard." General Muhlenberg spent his time while in Pittsburgh in preparing for the further journey, his leisure being employed in "trying to catch some Ohio fish, which, according to report, are very large; but hitherto I have been unsuccessful, as the river is too full of ice."

When the boat on which General Muhlenberg and the party with which he was now traveling left Pittsburgh, was passing Logstown, where his grandfather, Conrad Weiser, had held his conference with the Indians in 1748, it ran aground on an island. It was near sunset, and as the boat could not be floated, they were compelled to stay all night. The occupants of the boat became uneasy. On the north side of the river was the Indian Country, and they were fearful of an attack. The Indians, although at peace with the whites, could probably not "withstand the great temptation of plundering a boat so richly laden as ours," Muhlenburg writes. The company was therefore divided into four watches and placed under his orders. He admits that he felt anxious. "For I must confess that I did not hear the noise of the wild fowl, the screaming loons, the hooting owls, and the howling wolves, which continued around us all night, with total indifference."

Early in 1784, Congress appointed three commissioners to meet the Six Nations on the northern and western frontiers, and purchase their western lands. On February 3, 1784, Pennsylvania also appointed commissioners to acquire the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, (23) who were to meet with the United States commissioners. All the commissioners met the Indians at Fort Schuyler (more generally known by its former and subsequent name of Fort Stanwix), beginning on October 3, 1784. The treaty was signed with the United States commissioners on October 22nd and with the Pennsylvania commissioners the next day, (24) and all the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, north and west of the Allegheny River, except certain lands at Erie, were ceded to Pennsylvania. One of the United States commissioners was Arthur Lee, of Virginia, who, together with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane, had been joint commissioners of the United States to the Court of France during the Revolution. Lee kept a journal from Philadelphia to Fort Schuyler, and after the conclusion of

the treaty with the Six Nations, continued the journal through Western Pennsylvania while on the way to Cuyahoga, now Cleveland, where a conference was to be held with the Western Indians. The party came by way of Sunbury and Carlisle and consisted of the United States commissioners, George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, and arrived at Fort Pitt on December 2, 1784. (25)

On December 5th a conference was held with Colonel Josiah Harmer, who commanded the Pennsylvania troops on the frontier, in the Indian Country on the opposite side of the Allegheny River from Fort Pitt, where he was encamped, with a force of soldiers intended as an escort for the commissioners on the further journey. Here it was decided that owing to the lateness of the season and the difficulty in securing supplies, the conference should be held at Fort McIntosh, thirty miles distant. After a stay of several weeks at Fort Pitt, the commissioners proceeded to Fort McIntosh, where the Pennsylvania commissioners met them, and where the conference was finally held and the deeds granting the lands to the United States and to Pennsylvania were signed on January 21, 1785. (26)

During his stay in Pittsburgh, Lee wrote down his impressions of the place: "Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland and Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on, the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per hundred weight from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops, money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys and two doctors." He also expressed the opinion that the place would "never be very considerable." In this respect the subsequent history of Pittsburgh has shown that his judgment was of far less value than that of Dr. Schoepf.

Religion also had begun to reassert itself in Pittsburgh in the bosoms of those who, owing to the vicissitudes of their new life, had neglected its outward observance. Wandering clerics came and preached in the fort or in some public house in the town, but house of worship there was none. The strain of the Revolution being over and the

stress of adverse material circumstances being lessened, the people began yearning for the spiritual life which they had led in their old homes in the East, and a desire for a church home developed. The majority of the people in Pittsburgh and its vicinity were either Scotch-Irish or German. The former were Presbyterians, while the latter were divided in their church affiliations between the Evangelical and Reformed faiths. The Germans were the first to organize a congregation, their church dating from 1782. (27) The Presbyterians claim 1784 as the natal year of their church. When Dr. Schoepf was in Pittsburgh, as he relates, a German preacher was living there who ministered to all the Germans. (28) Arthur Lee, on the other hand, tells that there was not in Pittsburgh "a priest of any persuasion, nor church nor chapel; so they are likely to be damned without the *benefit of clergy*." (29) Mr. Lee probably did not know that the Presbyterian church was in process of formation, and he may have closed his eyes to the fact that the German church had been in existence for two years, in order that he might elaborate his witticism about being "damned without the *benefit of clergy*."

John Wilkins, who removed from Carlisle to Pittsburgh in October, 1783, and who subsequently became one of its leading citizens, being an associate justice of the common pleas court of Allegheny County upon its erection, a chief burgess of the borough of Pittsburgh, and county treasurer for many years, has left a graphic, but rather dark account of the social and religious conditions prevailing in Pittsburgh at the time he settled there. (30)

"When I first came here I found the place filled with old officers and soldiers, followers of the army, mixed with a few families of credit. All sorts of wickedness were carried on to excess, and there was no appearance of morality or regular order. * * * There appeared to be no signs of religion among the people, and it seemed to me that the Presbyterian ministers were afraid to come to the place lest they should be mocked or mistreated."

He then relates that he had "often hinted to the creditable part of the people that something ought to be done toward establishing a Presbyterian church." The result of his suggestions was the organization of the Presbyterian

church and a building was commenced at which he says he worked "with his own hands."

The Episcopalians in Pittsburgh comprised only a small proportion of the population, but included some of the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. They were mainly emigrants from Virginia and Maryland, where the Episcopal, or Church of England as it was commonly called, had been the state church, being disestablished during the Revolution. The church as a whole had fallen into disrepute, notwithstanding the fact that more than two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Episcopalians, the principal reason being that the majority of the clergy had remained Loyalists during the Revolution. But at this time the movement for the reorganization of the church on American lines was well under way. In September, 1785, a convention of delegates from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina had been held in Philadelphia and the Protestant Episcopal Church as a national body organized, and a provisional constitution adopted. On September 14, 1786, the Rev. Dr. William White, the rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia, the friend of Washington, who had been chaplain of the Continental Congress, was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania, and on February 4th of the following year, he and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, Bishop-elect of New York, were consecrated in London by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of Both, Wells and Peterborough. And now the Episcopalians of Pittsburgh were looking forward to the formation of a church of their own, which, however, was not to be accomplished until many years afterward.

All the Penns were devout Christians and John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, at this time the proprietarys of the manor and town of Pittsburgh, were not exceptions to their forebears. Regardless of how they were affected by the Revolution in which they were staunch Loyalists, they set aside land in Pittsburgh at the time their plan of the town was laid out, for all the religious denominations to which the residents of Pittsburgh belonged at least nominally, upon which to erect houses of worship. This

land they donated to trustees for the use of the congregations which had either been formed or were in process of formation. The first deed given for such purpose was to the German congregation and was dated June 18, 1787. Two other donations were made, both deeds for the same being dated September 24, 1787, the one being to the Presbyterian congregation, whose building had already been erected on the ground so conveyed, and the other being for the use of the Episcopalians; but for almost forty years after this land was conveyed to the Episcopalians it remained bare of a church building, being used solely as a burying ground.

And the German church and the Presbyterian church were the pioneers in the reawakening of the religious life of Pittsburgh. The crudeness of the frontier was wearing off and the people yearned for a broader life, one of their desires being for a newspaper of their own. This new condition coming to the ears of two adventurous young printers in Philadelphia, John Scull and Joseph Boyd, they determined to meet it and establish a newspaper. The two men removed to Pittsburgh, bringing a printing outfit with them, and the *Pittsburgh Gazette* was born on July 29, 1786, and was the first newspaper to be published in the entire Western country, and has had a continuous existence to this day. The community was no longer isolated from the rest of the world. The paper mirrored the happenings in the Eastern parts of the United States and in Europe; and the only regret of the modern readers of the files of this old newspaper is the fact that the publishers did not deem it necessary to give publicity to local events. The people of Pittsburgh were now on the highroad to culture.

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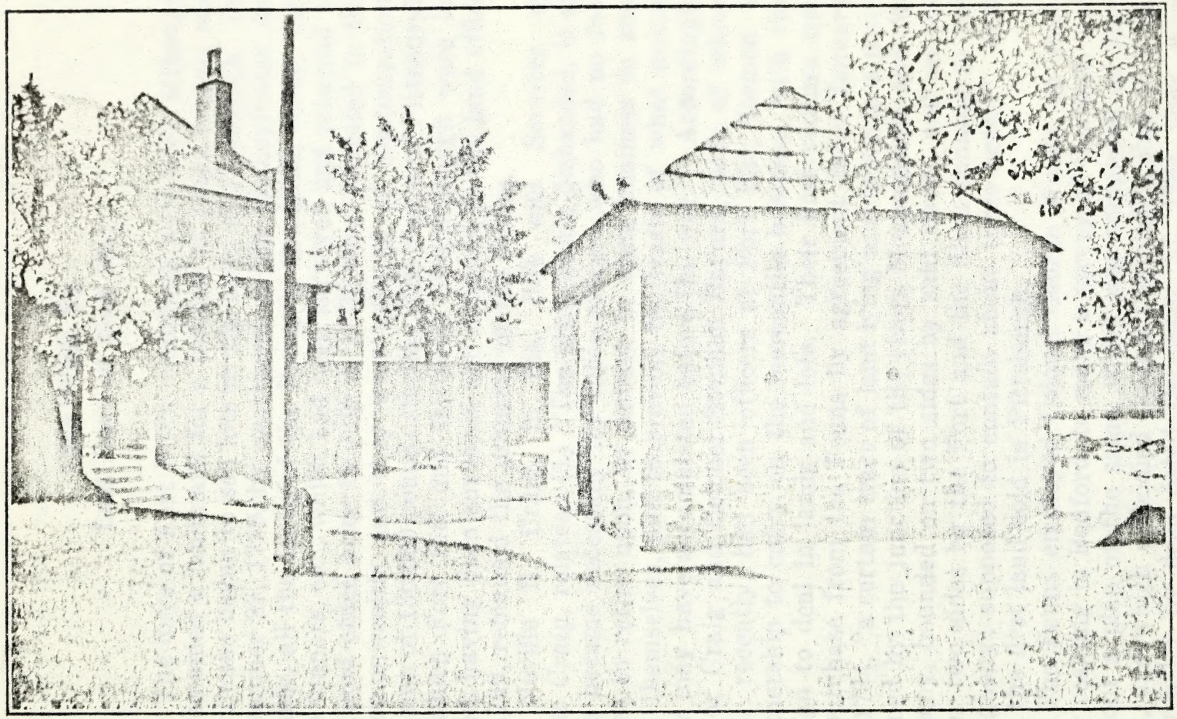


The Old Redoubt as it Appears Today.

CHAPTER VI.
Last Days of Fort Pitt.

The days of Fort Pitt's usefulness were over, although it remained a landmark for a number of years longer, and the Penns began to sell lots in the town of Pittsburgh. On November 27, 1779, by enactment of the Pennsylvania Assembly, all the lands of the Penns in the state, except certain manors, etc., which had been surveyed and returned to the land office prior to July 4, 1776, were forfeited to the Commonwealth, and they were granted as compensation, the sum of 130,000 pounds sterling. The manor of Pittsburgh in which Fort Pitt and the town of Pittsburgh were located, having been surveyed and returned to the land office in 1769, remained the property of the Penns.

Neville B. Craig, in his, *Life and Services of Isaac Craig*, relates: (1) "The army being disbanded, it at once became necessary for these officers who had no fortunes to retire upon, to embark in some business to sustain themselves, and to prevent the waste of what means they may have accumulated before the war." Accordingly Major Craig and Colonel Stephen Bayard, both of whom until recently, had been officers at Fort Pitt, formed a partnership to carry on the mercantile business, with the design to deal in lands and lots. Their first venture was to purchase from the Penns by agreement dated January 22, 1784, "a certain tract of land lying and being in a point formed by the junction of the rivers Monongahela and Allegheny, bounded on two sides by said rivers, and on the other two sides by the Fort and the ditch running to the Allegheny; supposed to contain about three acres." This was the first land sold in Pittsburgh.

The Penns employed Colonel George Woods, an engineer residing in Bedford, to make a survey of the town and lay out a plan of the same, which was completed on May 31st, and which embodied Colonel Campbell's plan of 1765. Thereafter by deed dated December 31, 1784, they conveyed to Craig and Bayard thirty-two lots in the new plan, which included the land sold to them by agreement. These

thirty-two lots comprised all the lots between the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and Marbury and West streets, and included all the land occupied by Fort Pitt. While the deed was made to Major Isaac Craig and Colonel Stephen Bayard, they by a deed dated January 4, 1785, acknowledged that the purchase had been made on their own account and for the account of John Holker, William Turnbull and Peter Marmie of Philadelphia, they having entered into partnership with those gentlemen in June, 1784. These five men comprised the firm of Turnbull, Marmie and Company, formed to engage in various enterprises in Pittsburgh, including dealing in real estate and operating a distillery; (2) and later they also applied for a license to trade with the Indians. (3) At subsequent dates they added to their enterprises a sawmill up the Allegheny River and a salt works on the Big Beaver.

Fort Pitt had been in possession of the Continental Congress since General Hand was placed in charge on June 1, 1777, but for some years the garrison had been dwindling in numbers. In 1784, it consisted of a lieutenant and twenty-five men. (4) It was at this time that Major Craig and Colonel Bayard made a claim to the land on which the fort was located. In a letter of Major Craig dated July 25, 1784, Craig and Bayard made a request to use some of the buildings, their request being refused, both by Captain Marbury and by his successor, Lieutenant Lucket. That Craig and Bayard fully expected to obtain possession of Fort Pitt at this time, is evident from the fact that the materials for the erection of the distillery which they expected to establish, had already been ordered, Craig stating in this letter that on the refusal of the officers at Fort Pitt to allow him to occupy any of the buildings, he had provided a house for their reception when they arrived. (5)

In 1785, there were at the fort, only the commander, Lucket, now risen to the rank of captain, and six men, whose duty seemed to be to guard military prisoners awaiting trial. (6) An incident occurred at this time which created considerable excitement

in Pittsburgh. On May 11, 1785, a Delaware Indian named Mamachtaga, while intoxicated, killed a white man and wounded three others on the north side of the Allegheny River opposite Pittsburgh. (7) He was apprehended and taken to Fort Pitt and confined in the dungeon. The feeling of the whites against the Indian was strong. They were particularly incensed against Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the leading lawyer of Pittsburgh, who was to appear for the Indian, and against Joseph Nicholas, the interpreter, who had been with Brackenridge in his interview with Mamachtaga. They proposed to hang the interpreter and exact an oath from Brackenridge not to appear at the trial. It was, however, finally decided to go to the garrison and demand the surrender of the Indian. Two attempts were then made by parties of Washington County militia, Washington County then extending to the south side of the Monongahela River opposite Pittsburgh, to take the Indian out of the custody of the military and tomahawk him. In their first effort the militia took possession of the garrison, but were persuaded by Captain Lucket, to retire, which they did, firing their guns as they passed through the town. The next attempt was made two days later when they made a prisoner of Captain Lucket and were marching him off, when, through a hastily organized party of Pittsburgh citizens and five or six soldiers, they were overpowered, and the prisoner released, and several of the militia taken into custody. Thereupon Colonel Harmar sent Captain McCurdy with a number of soldiers to reinforce the garrison.

Major Michael Huffnagle, a justice of the peace of Westmoreland County, reported the occurrence to John Armstrong, the Secretary of the Council, and closed his communication as follows: "I wish for a special commission to be sent for the trial of the prisoner at this place, and a "*blank death warrant.*" To the honor of the Council, however, it should be remembered that they were not as complaisant as Major Huffnagle imagined they would be, and did not send a *blank death warrant*, but waited until the Indian had been tried and found guilty, the trial taking place at Hannastown, when on November 25, 1785, a warrant was directed to be issued, whereupon Mamachtaga was duly hanged. (8)

Now Craig and Bayard instituted legal proceedings by bringing a suit in ejectment against Captain Lucket for the possession of the fort. The commander, however, was not to be intimidated by the service of a Pennsylvania writ, and declared that he would remain at his post until he had received orders from Congress to surrender the possession. (9)

That the fort was to be given up by the United States was generally understood in Pittsburgh. The state of Pennsylvania claimed that the effects purchased by William Thompson and Alexander Ross from Captain Edmonstone now belonged to Alexander Ross who had been attained of treason during the Revolution, and it made preparations to sell them. Major Huffnagle, who in addition to being a justice of the peace, was one of the agents for the sale of confiscated estates in Westmoreland County, (10) on May 6, 1785, wrote to Secretary John Armstrong in regard to the proposed sale. He reported that the greater part of the property purchased by Alexander Ross and William Thompson from Captain Edmonstone, had remained in the fort and had been made use of, and inquired how to proceed * * *. He also stated that in his opinion it would be necessary to have an order from Congress that possession be given to such person or persons as Council should direct. (11)

In accordance with the suggestion of Major Huffnagle, John Dickenson, the President of Pennsylvania, wrote on June 28th to the Pennsylvania delegates in Congress asking them to obtain from Congress directions to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, upon its abandonment by Congress, to deliver the possession to John Ormsby, Michael Huffnagle, John Proctor, Thomas Galbraith and Robert Galbraith, citizens of Pennsylvania. (12)

General Arthur St. Clair, learning of the matter, addressed a letter to President Dickenson, on July 16, 1785, in which he complained of the contemplated sale, and claimed that no part of the buildings left standing on the evacuation of Fort Pitt by the British belonged to Ross. Part of them, he said, belonged to him and part to other persons. (3) In compliance with this request the Council on July 11th, ordered the sale to be postponed until further

order of Council. (14)

Turnbull, Marmie and Company, in addition to the ejectment brought by Craig and Bayard for the land on which Fort Pitt was erected, had also presented a memorial to Congress setting forth their claims and asking that they be given possession. (15) To the letter of President Dickenson, Charles Pettit, a Pennsylvania delegate to Congress, (16) replied in a communication dated August 12, 1785. He stated that he believed the garrison would shortly be removed, and said, "as it is understood that possession of the fort was taken on behalf of the United States without any treaty or contract, it seems to be the intention of Congress to relinquish it in the same manner." He added, "I have therefore advised Turnbull, Marmie and Company to make their application to your Excellency and the Council on the subject." On August 15, 1785, President Dickenson addressed a letter to the commissioners appointed to take possession of Fort Pitt upon its relinquishment by Congress, in which he stated, that as it was probable that the United States would soon relinquish the possession of Fort Pitt, which he called "Pittsburgh," he thought it proper to direct, that upon such relinquishment, they should take possession in the name and behalf of this Commonwealth, and that the possession taken should be without prejudice to private property rights. (17)

It was some time after August 15th that Turnbull, Marmie and Company received possession of a portion of Fort Pitt, a small garrison being maintained there for some years longer. In 1786, the garrison consisted of twelve men. Doctor Hildreth, of Marietta, Ohio, who passed through Pittsburgh as late as April, 1788, related that there was still "a small garrison of troops at Fort Pitt." Major Ebenezer Denny, writing on July 10, 1791, stated that he found two battalions of levies at Fort Pitt. (18)

Colonel John May of Boston, a former Revolutionary officer, was in Pittsburgh from May 7th to May 24th, 1788. (19) He stopped at the tavern of Marcus Hulings on the south side of the Monongahela River, in Washington County, opposite the foot of Liberty Street, and directly across the river from Fort Pitt, because, as he complains, the same lodgings would have cost him in Pittsburgh seven

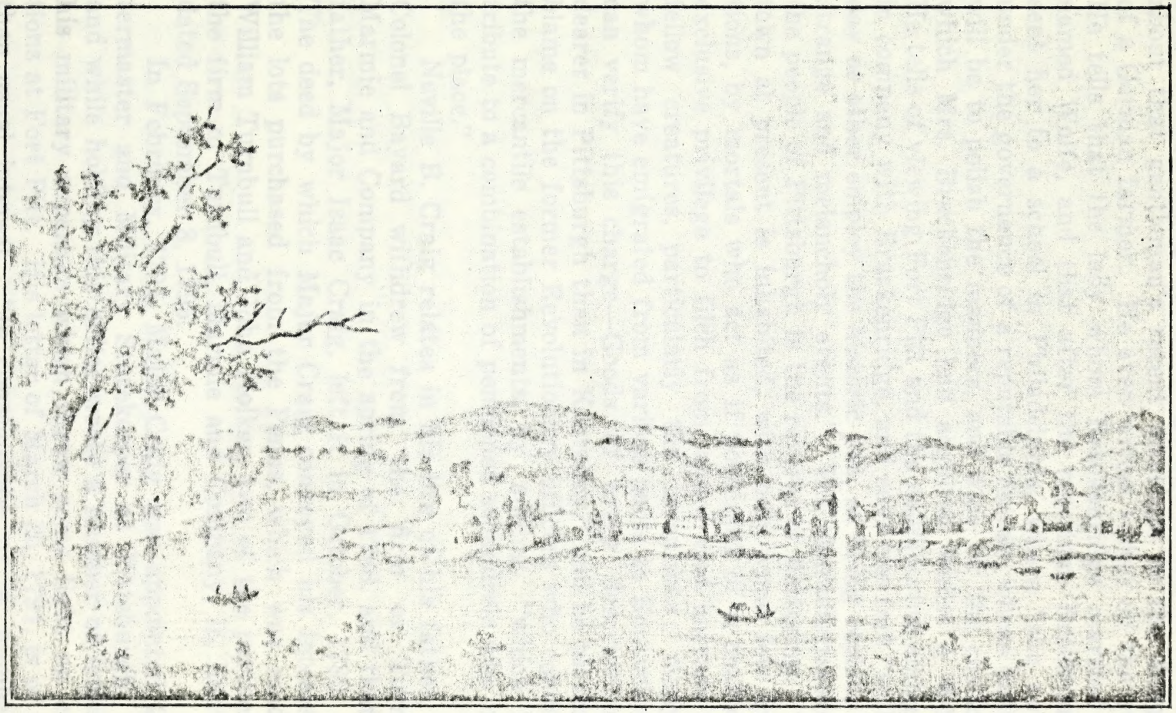
times as much as Hulings charged, and added, "Such is the odds between the counties of Westmoreland and Washington.

"Pittsburgh is in plain sight," he continued, "at half a mile distance. It is an irregular, poorly built place. The number of houses, mostly built of logs, about one hundred and fifty. The inhabitants (perhaps because they lead too easy a life) incline to be extravagant and lazy. They are subject, however, to frequent alarms from the savages of the wilderness. The situation is agreeable and the soil good."

He tells that Hulings informed him that more than two hundred and fifty boats of twenty to thirty tons filled with people, live stock and furniture had passed the place since early spring, going down the river, the destination being to the settlements farther south and west. He records that General Harmar called on him, crossing the river in a barge called the Congress, rowed by twelve men in white uniforms and caps, and took him to the north side of the Allegheny River where they visited some Indian graves at the head of which tall poles were fixed daubed with red. Later General Harmar also took him up the Monongahela River where they visited Braddock's field. Of this he said, "The bones of the slain are plenty on the ground at this day. I picked up many of them which did not seem much decayed."

The constantly rising tide of immigration into Western Pennsylvania required more subdivisions of territory. Westmoreland County had been reduced on March 28, 1781, by the creation of Washington County, and was further reduced by the erection of Fayette County on September 26, 1783, but was still inordinately large, and on September 24, 1788, Allegheny County was formed out of Westmoreland and Washington counties, and the county seat located at Pittsburgh; and the village assumed a new importance.

In 1790, John Pope undertook a journey from Richmond to Kentucky and the region farther south, stopping on the way at Pittsburgh. In October he had crossed the Alleghany Mountains. He relates: "I passed through the shadow of Death—saw George Washington's intrenchments at the Meadows, and undismayed rode over Braddock's



Pittsburgh in 1796.
From General Collot's *Voyage Dans L' Amerique Septentrionale,*

grave." (20) While in Pittsburgh he made the acquaintance of Hugh Henry Brackenridge and he has much to say about that gentleman's recent marriage to the daughter of a German farmer. He even writes verses on the event. He tells that the lady whom Brackenridge married was named Wolfe, and that after the marriage Brackenridge sent her to a school in Philadelphia, where "she now is under the governance of a reputable female, whose business will be to polish the manners, and wipe off the rusticities which Mrs. Brackenridge had acquired whilst a Wolfe." He tells of viewing Fort Pitt and the neighboring eminences in company with Brackenridge, and says the fort "will one day or other employ the historic pen, as being replete with strange and melancholy events." His characterization of the people of Pittsburgh is the reverse of flattering. "The town at present is inhabited, with only some few exceptions, by mortals who act as if possessed of a charter of exclusive privilege to filch from, annoy and harrass their fellow creatures, particularly the incautious; many of whom have emigrated from various parts to Kentucky and can verify this charge—Goods of every description are dearer in Pittsburgh than in Kentucky," and he places the blame on the former Revolutionary officers who conducted the mercantile establishments, by adding, "which I attribute to a combination of pensioned scoundrels who infest the place."

Neville B. Craig relates in his life of his father, that Colonel Bayard withdrew from the firm of Turnbull, Marmie and Company in the spring of 1788, and that his father, Major Isaac Craig, left it in October, 1789. (2) The deed by which Major Craig conveyed his interest in the lots purchased from the Penns, which was made to William Turnbull and John Holker, two of the partners in the firm of Turnbull, Marmie and Company, is, however, dated September 8, 1795.

In February, 1791, Major Craig was appointed Quartermaster and Military Storekeeper at Pittsburgh, (22) and while holding this office wrote a number of letters to his military superiors which throw some light on conditions at Fort Pitt. His letter of March 25, 1791, is of more than usual interest. "In consequence of a number of

people killed and several taken prisoners by the Indians in the vicinity of this place, within a few days past," he writes, "and frequent reports of large parties of savages being on our frontier, the people of this town have made frequent applications for arms and ammunition to me, and I have been forced to lend them one hundred muskets and bayonets and cartouch boxes."

The two following letters show that Turnbull, Marmie and Company were still excluded from a portion of Fort Pitt, and indicate that while Major Craig retained an interest in the land purchased from the Penns, he was no longer on friendly terms with his old partners. The first letter is dated May 12, 1791, and in it he says, "Turnbull and Marmie are now in this country and have directed their lawyers to prosecute their ejectments in the Supreme Court —they are confident of being put in possession of the fort by the sheriff." The other letter is dated October 6, 1791, and in this Craig complains: "Turnbull and Marmie continue to pull down and sell the materials of the fort, and have lately been so ill-natured as to institute a suit against me for pointing out a piece of ground between the fort and the Allegheny River to Captain Buel for encampment."

In the next letter the requiem of Fort Pitt is sung. The new fort farther up the Allegheny River had been completed and the garrison was withdrawn from Fort Pitt and on May 13, 1792, Major Craig wrote to General Henry Knox, the Secretary of War: "Captain Hughes, with his detachment has occupied the barracks of the new fort since the 5th instant * * * the works, if you have no objection, I shall name Fort LaFayette." (23)

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CHAPTER VII.
THE OLD REDOUBT.

I.
Location and Date of Erection.

The only relic of Fort Pitt remaining in Pittsburgh today is the Old Redoubt, also known as the Block House, situated at the Point. It is the oldest building in Pittsburgh, and next to Trinity Churchyard, the oldest landmark in the city. It is a place of great interest, not only locally, but to students of history all over the country. That it was connected with Fort Pitt is beyond question, yet the claim has been made that it was part of Fort Duquesne. Russell Smith, the artist, who studied his art in this city, was guilty of this error. In 1832 he made a sketch of the Redoubt, and of the Powder Magazine of Fort Pitt which, until sometime prior to 1844, stood on the northerly side of Liberty Street about midway between Marbury and Water streets. In *The Pittsburgh Dispatch* of Sunday, January 11, 1885, cuts of these sketches were published, along with others of local interest, together with the statement that the artist had presented the originals to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on the preceding Thursday. In these cuts the Redoubt, as well as the Powder Magazine, are represented as having been part of Fort Duquesne. The date on the tablet on the Redoubt is given as 1755, which would bring it within the period of the French occupation; and Colonel Bouquet's name is omitted. Today unfortunately the whereabouts of these two sketches are not known. However, subsequent to the date of the sketches, paintings were made from them by the artist, that of the Redoubt being now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, a copy being printed in John Martin Hammond's, "Quaint and Historic Forts of North America," and an engraving of the painting of the Powder Magazine having been published in *Gody's Magazine And Lady's Book*, for September, 1844.

A writer in Watson's Annals who saw the Redoubt in

1804, (1) and to whom it was known as the Guard House, also credits it as belonging to Fort Duquesne.

Attached to the bill of sale by which Captain Edmonstone sold certain property, being part of Fort Pitt, to William Thompson and Alexander Ross, was a schedule of items, one of which was for "two redoubts." Nothing is said about any blockhouses, except "a square log house fifty feet long." (2) General Irvine in 1782, complained of trespassers on the fort. He tells of Major Edward Ward having a house in the King's Orchard which was formerly a redoubt and had been removed from its orginial location and taken there and "built house fashion." (3) He complains further, about "Irwin's house" and states that this was also formerly a redoubt, "but is now environed by the other houses of the town of Pittsburgh." This Irwin was undoubtedly, Captain John Irwin, who was at the time deputy commissary-general of issues. (4) Here there are two redoubts accounted for. Ward's could hardly have been the Old Redoubt, as it was located in the King's Orchard, and the Redoubt still standing, must therefore have been the one occupied by Captain Irwin.

The Old Redoubt is located one hundred and fifteen feet north of Penn Street and six hundred and sixty-seven feet west of Marbury Street. It is a five-sided structure, the side facing the city being twenty-three feet in width; the two sides at right angles with the front, as well as the two rear angling sides being each about sixteen feet. It has a stone foundation standing about five and a half feet above the level of the ground; the upper part of the building which is about eight and a half feet in height, is constructed of brick. It has two ranges of loop holes for musketry cut into sticks of timber which are let into the walls on every side of the building and are a foot thick, one row being placed a short distance below the roof and the other immediately above the foundation. In the easterly front facing the city, immediately under the eaves, is a stone tablet bearing the following inscription:

"A. D. 1764
COLL. BOUQUET."

The whole is surmounted by a high sloping roof covered

by wooden shingles.

Since March 15, 1894, the old relic has been the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution, having been conveyed to that organization by Mrs. Mary E. Schenley who had been the owner for many years, having inherited it, together with the entire block bounded by Penn Street, Duquesne Way, Marbury and Water streets, from her grandfather, Colonel James O'Hara. Turnbull, Marmie and Company having acquired the land on which Fort Pitt stood, probably obtained possession of the Redoubt before securing control of the rest of the fort, as Neville B. Craig says Turnbull, Marmie and Company built an addition to it in 1785, with bricks taken from the walls of the fort, thus constituting a dwelling house. He also tells that this was occupied by Mr. Turnbull for a year, and by his father for the three following years, and that he was born there in 1787. (5)

There is no evidence that either Mr. Holker or Mr. Marmie ever resided in Pittsburgh, but Mr. Turnbull for a number of years after he removed from the Redoubt, lived in a stone house on Second Street, now Second Avenue, west of Market Street. He was a prominent citizen and was noted for the lavish manner of his entertainments. Major Samuel S. Forman of New Jersey was in Pittsburgh in the latter part of November, 1789, accompanying his uncle, General David Forman and his famliy, who with a large number of negro slaves were on their way to settle in the Natchez country, then under Spanish authority. He records in his diary about the party being entertained by Mr. Turnbull, "late of Philadelphia," whom he calls Colonel Turnbull. He tells of an "elegant" dinner given in their honor by Mr. Turnbull which was attended by several Pittsburgh gentlemen, and that the Pittsburghers accompanied them to the boat as they left Pittsburgh. (6)

For perhaps two score years the Redoubt was the habitation of refined and cultured people. In 1831, according to *The Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 19th, of that year, it was occupied by a French engineer, presumably Jean Barbeau, who with Lewis Keyon had made a plan of Pittsburgh which was published the year before. After the engineer left the Redoubt, it was allowed to become dilapidated, grow-

FORT DU QUESNE, THE FIRST FORT PITT, AND FORT PITT.

Isaac Craig's Revision of Hon. Richard Biddle's Copy of Lieut. Ratzer's Plan of Fort Pitt.

ALLEGHANY RIVER
OHIO

ing more shabby with each passing year until it became the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This organization tore down the addition and restored the Redoubt to its original state.

The histories of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, where they refer to the Redoubt at all, state almost unanimously that it was located outside of the fort, and a short distance west of it. In the light of the latest investigation, however, it appears beyond question that it was really a part of the old stronghold and most likely stood on the north bastion. To William McConway of this city, belongs the credit of calling attention to this fact and causing an investigation to be made.

Mr. McConway has long been interested in the early history of Pittsburgh, and particularly in that of the old fort at the Point. He made himself thoroughly familiar with the published accounts, and when doubt arose in his mind of their correctness, he examined the matter for himself. He knew of the existence of Lieutenant Ratzer's plan of the fort, and in the year 1909, he sent to London and had a copy made of it, and from his knowledge of the subject and a study of this plan reached the conclusion that the Redoubt was not located outside of the fort, but was part of the structure itself, and that it stood on the north bastion.

That Mr. McConway's copy of Ratzer's plan is an exact reproduction of the plan of Fort Pitt as preserved in the Crown Collection of Maps and Manuscripts in the British Museum, is apparent from a careful comparison, with the copy of Ratzer's plan as published in 1905 by The A. H. Clark Company of Cleveland. The writer became impressed by Mr. McConway's conclusion and made an independent investigation, becoming so deeply interested that he studied the entire history of Fort Pitt, the result being the present article.

The Redoubt is said to have been the headquarters of Colonel Henry Bouquet while at Fort Pitt and to have been erected by him in 1764. (7) In his day Bouquet was the most prominent figure in the British army in the West. He was at the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers many times, and was there several times during the period

from 1763 to and including 1764. There is no record of the date on which he left Fort Pitt at the conclusion of the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War, but it was no doubt before the end of 1763. When the Indians became troublesome again the next year, he was in Philadelphia, (8) and from there was summoned to lead an army against the Indians on the Muskingum River, as has already appeared. On September 17, 1764, he arrived at Fort Pitt preparatory to entering upon this campaign on which he started on October 3rd, returning to Fort Pitt at its conclusion on November 28, 1764. The regular troops were immediately sent to garrison the different posts farther East, and the Provincials to their homes, Bouquet proceeding to Philadelphia, where he arrived early in January, 1765. (9) If the Redoubt was erected in 1764 by Colonel Bouquet, it must have been sometime between September 17th and the end of that year.

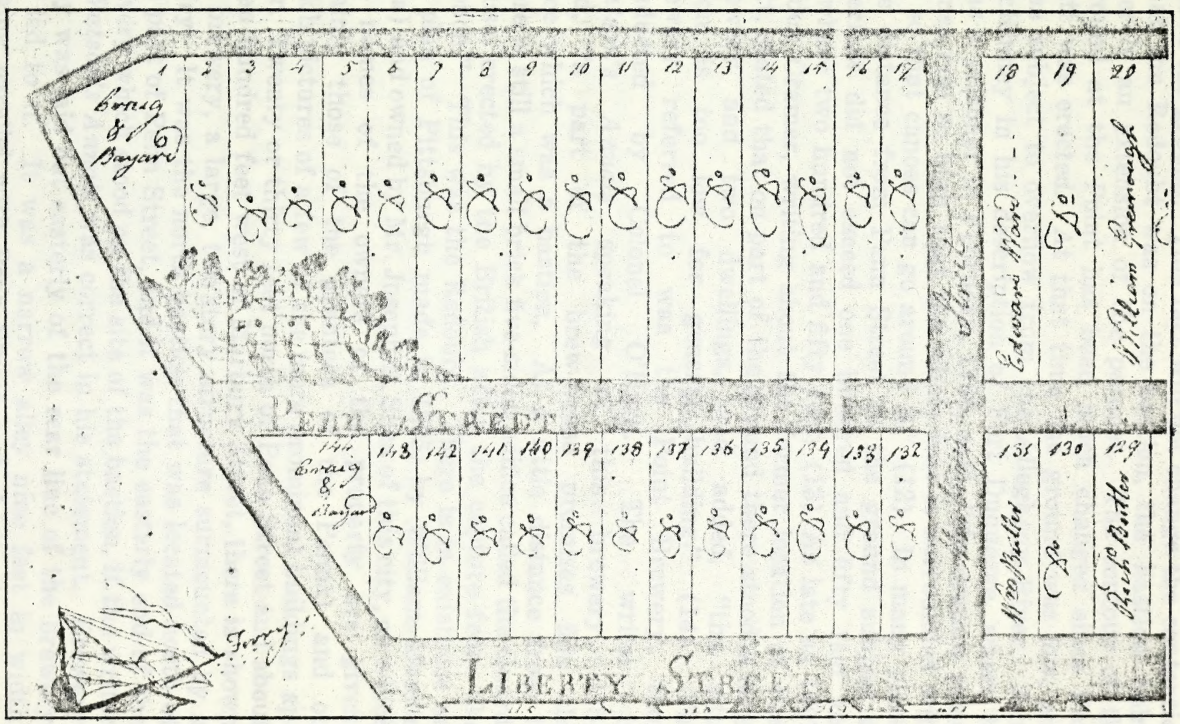
History has demonstrated that Colonel Bouquet was the best Indian fighter who up to his time had engaged in Indian warfare. Is it likely that such a seasoned campaigner so soon after having driven the besieging Indians of Kiyasuta and Pontiac from Fort Pitt, and having met the Muskingum Indians and forced them into making a lasting peace, would erect a building outside of the fort as his headquarters, or for any other purpose? Not even the merest tyro in military affairs would be guilty of such a violation of military science. Nor would an experienced military officer erect a redoubt between two bastions, the Redoubt being close to the north bastion and between that and the south bastion. Also would a Redoubt be erected in this location with loop holes facing in the direction of the fort, from which the enemy, if it captured the building, could fire on the fort? The fact that the Redoubt was loop-holed on all sides would indicate that it stood above the level of the rest of the fort, and that the purpose of the loop-holes was to enable the occupants to fire over the fort in all directions.

Zadok Cramer, Pittsburgh's first publisher, in his *Navigator* for 1808, writing of the ruins of Fort Pitt as they appeared at that time, says * * * "within the embankment are still some of its barracks and a strong stone powder

magazine, the only remains of the British buildings." Nothing is said of any remnant of the fort being located outside of the fort. In the article on the Redoubt already referred to, published in *The Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 19, 1831, of which paper Neville B. Craig was the proprietor and editor, no claim is made that the Redoubt was located outside of the fort. This statement was not made until more than a decade later. In 1830, the Honorable Richard Biddle of Pittsburgh procured a copy of Lieutenant Ratzer's plan of Fort Pitt. This came into the possession of Neville B. Craig and his son, Isaac Craig, then twenty years of age. The two men published articles on the subject of the fort and the Redoubt in the *American Pioneer* of June, 1842, a monthly publication emanating from Cincinnati. (10) The article written by Isaac Craig was illustrated with Biddle's copy of Ratzer's plan, and on this several of the present streets were located. On this plan the Redoubt appears outside of the fort and just west of the north bastion and beyond the moat. In his description of the Redoubt, Neville B. Craig also states that it was located "on the outside of the ditch of the fort."

The descriptions of Fort Pitt and of the Redoubt as they were printed in these two articles, including the map, were followed in 1869 by A. G. Haumann, who drew and published a plan of Pittsburgh as it was supposed to be in 1795. In this plan even the mistake made in Ratzer's name was followed, being given as "R." Ratzer instead of "B." Ratzer, and the gardens as laid out by Ratzer east of the fort, were omitted. Haumann's plan with only slight variations has been republished many times since 1869, and has always been given out as if it were an original picture of Pittsburgh, instead of having been laboriously built up, mostly from data obtained from Neville B. Craig's *History of Pittsburgh*. The Craig articles and the Haumann plan have been religiously followed by all subsequent historians, except only by George H. Thurston, who said the Redoubt was erected within the fort. (11)

Neville B. Craig will always remain Pittsburgh's most eminent historian. To him the city is indebted for the preservation of much of the material relating to the early history of this community, and he is quoted oftener than



Colonel James O'Hara's Brewery in 1805.
From William Masson's Plan of Pittsburgh

fort to have been the parapet, which was about fifteen feet above the ground. This fact will not change the contention that the Redoubt was on the bastion, the bastion being merely an extension of the parapet. The contour of the ground at the Point has been much changed since Fort Pitt was erected. At that time the ground was low, and was subject to overflow from the Allegheny River. John McKinney in his description of Fort Duquesne, where he was a prisoner in February, 1756, said, "the waters sometimes rise so high that the whole fort is surrounded with it, so that canoes can go around it." (12) In many places the distance from Penn Street to the ground subject to overflow did not exceed one hundred and fifty feet and nowhere two hundred and fifty feet. (13) As late as 1807, Zadok Cramer, writing about the former location of Fort Pitt, stated that on part of the ground there stood a large brewery and two dwellings, and added, "the situation is too low for general building." (14) The brewery referred to was the Point Brewery, then conducted by Colonel O'Hara. The writer in *Watson's Annals* speaking of this brewery, (15) said, "a part of the brew-house premises fills the place which was a bastion. At a little distance from it there is still a small brick five-sided edifice called the Guard-House, erected by the British after the capture from the French." This was the Redoubt. There is in existence an old plan of Pittsburgh made in 1805, by William Masson (15a) and owned by Mr. Joseph B. Shea of this city, on which the names of the owners of the property are given, (mainly those of the grantees of the Penns) and on which pictures of a few of the more prominent buildings appear. Twenty or thirty feet north of Penn Street and about seven hundred feet west of Marbury Street, there is shown the brewery, a large, two-story structure surmounted by a belfry. It was the north bastion that was located north of this part of Penn Street, and it was the easterly end of the brewery which stood on the site of the bastion, if the writer in *Watson's Annals* was correct in his statement. Brewery Alley was laid out easterly of the rear line of the brewery and led to it. It was a narrow alley nine feet in width running parallel with Penn Street and about ninety-eight

feet north of it. Eight feet north of the location of this alley is the Redoubt.

The depth of the lots in Wood's plan which ran to the Allegheny River, is given as four hundred and ten feet. Therefore from one hundred and sixty to two hundred and sixty feet must have been the lowlands which overflowed. Since that day there have been great changes in the contour of the ground, it having been raised from eight to seventeen feet. A number of excavations have been made and timbers of the old fort uncovered, buried from twelve to fifteen feet underground. The width of the ground between Penn Street and the Allegheny River has not only been widened to four hundred and ten feet, but the Penn Street lots have been increased to a depth of four hundred and twenty feet. In 1836, two acts of the Assembly were passed authorizing the councils of the City of Pittsburgh to lay out Duquesne Way at not less than four hundred and twenty feet north of Penn Street and to establish a grade for the same and to fill up the ground. In pursuance of this authority, in 1839, councils laid out Duquesne Way and it was entirely outside of Wood's plan and ten feet beyond Wood's line; and the land at the Point now extends several hundred feet beyond even Duquesne Way. The north bastion was no doubt built on the ground subject to overflow and was fifteen feet or more above the then level of the ground. If the level of the ground at this place has been raised only ten or twelve feet, what is more reasonable than that the Redoubt, the foundation of which is something over five feet above the present level of the ground, might have been part of the north bastion of the fort?

That the north bastion was the most important part of the fort was apparent to military eyes, there can be no doubt. It was the nearest point to the Allegheny River. Across that stream all was Indian country, and from there the attack would occur if at all. This was made plain by General Irvine while commanding here. In December, 1781, when there was talk of abandoning Fort Pitt and building a new fort at the mouth of Chartiers Creek, he wrote that in such case all of the fort but the north bastion should be destroyed, and on this there should be placed a strong blockhouse. (16) The belief that there were Re-

doubts on the bastions is strengthened, when it is borne in mind that the word Redoubt and Block House, then as now, were used interchangeably, and that Neville B. Craig says there were two or three block houses on the bastions, (17) which undoubtedly meant that they were what we know as redoubts. Nor is it certain that the building was erected in 1764. It is more likely that it was built with the fort and that the tablet with the date was placed in the structure to commemorate the fact that it was occupied by Colonel Bouquet in 1764.

There are extant two views of early Pittsburgh, the first being that made by Lewis Brantz, the young German, who was in Pittsburgh in 1785, as has already been related, and who was there a second time in 1790, the picture bearing that date. This shows that the ground about Fort Pitt was quite low. The fort is seen, and surmounting the easterly side are two small stack-like projections, which are undoubtedly redoubts, one being on what was apparently intended to represent the north bastion and the other standing on what seems to be the east bastion. Brantz Mayer, the biographer of Lewis Brantz, tells of the remarkable accuracy which the artist displayed in this picture. "Every house at the fort is minutely delineated * * * and forty-five years afterward I saw him point out every place of historical interest in a landscape which art and trade has so transformed." (18)

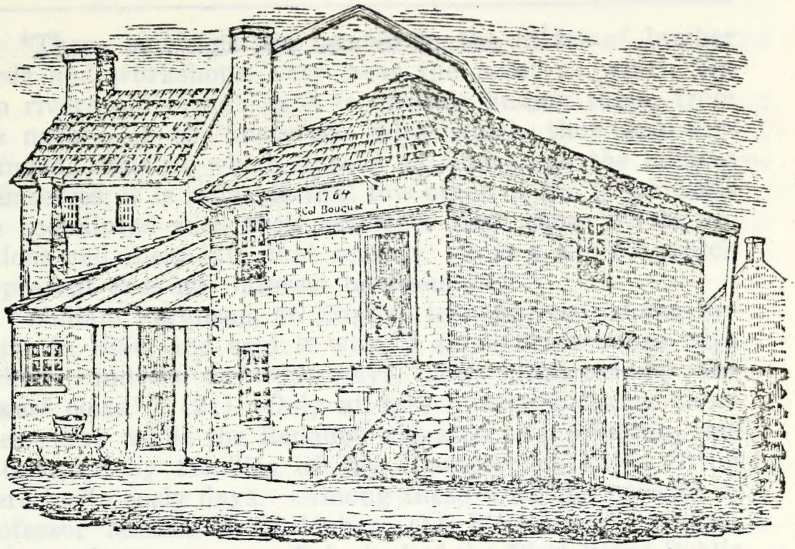
The other view of Pittsburgh is the one appearing in the book of General Henri Victor Collot, a French army officer, who was in Pittsburgh in 1796, having been sent out by the French government at the request of M. Adet, the French Minister to the United States, for the purpose of obtaining minute details of the political, commercial and military state of the western part of the continent. (19) In this picture also a structure is seen which appears to be the fort and here there are redoubt-like buildings rising above the main structure. The fort of course, had been abandond at this time, but Collot said "one still sees the remains of it. It is a regular pentagon of which today the parapets have fallen into the moat, and it is neither surrounded nor covered, either by stone or by palisades, and it is open on all sides."

II.

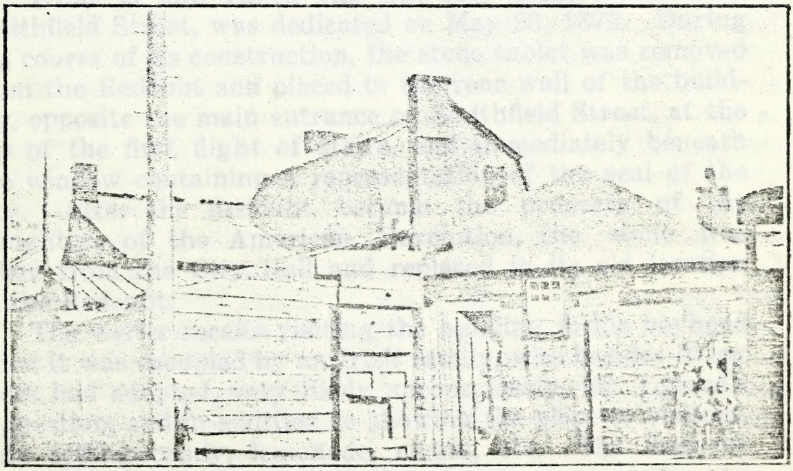
In Later Days.

The Redoubt was acquired by new owners, going early into the hands of Colonel O'Hara. It was rented to tenants, became surrounded by manufacturing establishments, and the character of the tenants changed from year to year and the building deteriorated. W. G. Lyford has left an extended account of the Redoubt as he saw it in 1837. (20) "A part of this fort, however, so far as houses constitute a part, must yet be remaining; or a block house and officers' quarters must have been erected on or near the same spot, soon after the period last mentioned; for such buildings exist—they are of brick and two stories high; the former low pitched, adjoin each other, and carry in their appearance everything of a military feature. The heavy timbers, in which the loop-holes are mortised, are on the side next the city, about half the height of the building, and probably serve at this time to support the floor of the second story.

"I asked permission of the occupant, a pleasant looking German, whose name is John Martin, to enter his citadel, which he readily granted, and found the lower room tastefully finished and furnished; but he could give me no further information, than that he had a lease on it at $40 a year. I suggested to him the advantage he might derive, by opening the room (which is about 20 feet square), during the season of travel, for the accommodation of strangers, and have in preparation some light cakes, lemonade, ices, fruits, etc., for that numbers would be pleased to visit the military relic, if they could do so under circumstances other than intrusive, and while he obliged such, he would profit liberally by the pleasant speculation. His wife just at this moment entered the room, laughing, from an adjoining shed, and wiping her arms (for she appeared to have been washing) said, 'Dare Jon, didn't I tell de so, ofden? hear vat de man sa.' John laughed likewise, and replied, 'ah, I'ms doo old now; and pesides, yoo nose I cot vork petter dan dat.'



The Old Redoubt in 1843.
From Day's "Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania."



The Old Redoubt in 1893.

"These buildings are located in the midst of lumber yards and workshops, very near the point at which the two rivers unite; but as it is difficult finding them, from the nature of the materials with which they are surrounded, some of which appear as ancient as the edifices themselves, it is probable that few other of the inhabitants are acquainted with their existence than those whose vocations call them into that section. It is a subject which at present does not interest business men."

William Ferguson, an English traveler, visited the Redoubt in 1856, and said it was "a small brick house with arched windows and doorways, now inhabited by the 'lowest class.'" (21) Only at rare intervals during these later years while the Redoubt was used as a dwelling, was it occupied by families of the character of those living there in its early days. Among these were the parents of Professor Michael J. McMahon, the Pittsburgh educator, who was for many years Principal of the First Ward Public School. The family resided in the Redoubt during the last years of the decade beginning in 1850, and in the decade beginning in 1860, and it was during this time that Professor McMahon was born there.

What is now called the Old City Hall, situated on Smithfield Street, was dedicated on May 23, 1872. During the course of its construction, the stone tablet was removed from the Redoubt and placed in the rear wall of the building, opposite the main entrance on Smithfield Street, at the top of the first flight of stairs, and immediately beneath the window containing a representation of the seal of the city. After the Redoubt became the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the stone was taken from the City Hall and replaced in its old location on the Redoubt.

The writer recalls visiting the building in his boyhood when it was occupied by an Irish family, who besides living there had adopted, very likely unconsciously, Mr. Lyford's suggestion, and in addition to showing the place to visitors, were selling candy, lemonade, cigars, etc. The Redoubt was also occasionally used for less legitimate purposes, an instance occurring after the passage by the Legislature of the Brooks High License Law in 1887, when the building

was used as a "speakeasy," as drinking houses were called where liquor was sold illegally.

Brewery Alley had been abandoned for more than half a century, and as the Redoubt was in an obscure location, it was difficult of approach. It could be reached either from First Street, vacated by the city when the Pennsylvania Railroad took possession of the block in which the Redoubt is located, or by way of Point Alley, also vacated at the same time. It was surrounded by poorly constructed, shabby brick and frame houses, with a frame stable or two close by. Hemming it in on all sides were manufacturing establishments, forges, foundries, boiler works, planing mills, lumber yards and machine shops.

The settlement about the Redoubt was unique in Pittsburgh. The owner of the land lived in England, and leased it in small lots for long terms of years to persons who built their own dwellings, or released the ground for manufacturing purposes. It was the most densely populated district in the city, and according to Rev. Dr. A. A. Lambing, who had an intimate knowledge of conditions in that locality, being pastor of the Roman Catholic "Church of Our Lady of Consolation," (22) located on the east side of First Street only a short distance from the Redoubt, who, writing in 1880, said: "It would not be exaggeration to say that it would not be difficult to find at least a hundred families who each occupied a single room, and that perhaps not more than twelve by fourteen feet." The Redoubt was as crowded with tenants as the other houses. The people were with very few exceptions, Irish Catholics from County Galway, who had settled there about twenty-five years earlier, and Gaelic was the language generally spoken, even by children born there. The people were poor and earned their daily bread and little more. From 1868 on, they had a church and a school of their own, the "Church of Our Lady of Consolation," located in a remodeled dwelling on First Street. And in the church a priest preached sermons in Gaelic, and the district had another attraction in addition to the Redoubt. (23)

All this had vanished; the shabby settlement has disappeared. The Irish are there no longer. The oldest among them are long since dead, and their children and grand-

children have scattered over the city and to more distant points. The houses, the stables, the manufacturing establishments have gone, the very contour of the ground has changed and now along Duquesne Way one sees a huge brick warehouse extending along the entire length of the block; a long low freight house runs parallel with it, and leading to the buildings are railroad tracks, some low on the ground, others elevated high in the air. Nestling among these marvels of modern industrial life, sole reminder of the life that was, there still remains the

OLD REDOUBT.

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3. C. W. Butterfield. *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, Madison, Wis., pp. 170-172.
4. Louise Phelps Kellogg. *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*, Madison, 1916, p. 175.
5. Neville B. Craig. In *The American Pioneer*, Cincinnati, 1844, Vol. I, p. 239.
6. Major Samuel S. Forman. *Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789-90*, Cincinnati, 1888, pp. 19-25.
7. Neville B. Craig. *The History of Pittsburgh*, Pittsburgh, 1851, p. 92.
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   Harris's General Business Directory, Pittsburgh, 1841, p. 5.
8. *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition*, Cincinnati, 1868, p. 33.
9. Ibid, p. 81.
10. Isaac Craig. In *The American Pioneer*, Supra, p. 237.
11. George H. Thurston. *Allegheny County's Hundred Years*, Pittsburgh, 1888, p. 15.
12. *Olden Time*. Pittsburgh, 1846, Vol. I, p. 40.
13. James Ross. *Colonel George Wood's Plan of Pittsburgh*, P. B. Recorder's Office of Allegheny County.
14. *The Navigator*, Pittsburgh, 1808, p. 33.
15. John F. Watson, Supra.

15a. Note.—William Masson, who prepared this plan, was apparently the sailmaker who in the early part of the Nineteenth Century resided on Water Street, between Smithfield Street and Cherry Alley. The Pittsburgh Directories for both 1815 and 1819 have him as residing at this place, and according to a deed filed in the Recorder's Office of Allegheny County he had purchased the property in 1813. The belief that he was the author of the plan is strengthened by the fact that the plan contains pictures of eleven sailing ships of various classes, all of which are labeled as having been built at Pittsburgh or in the vicinity, and about which hardly anyone could have had knowledge, unless he was intimately connected with shipbuilding.

16. C. W. Butterfield. Supra, p. 78.
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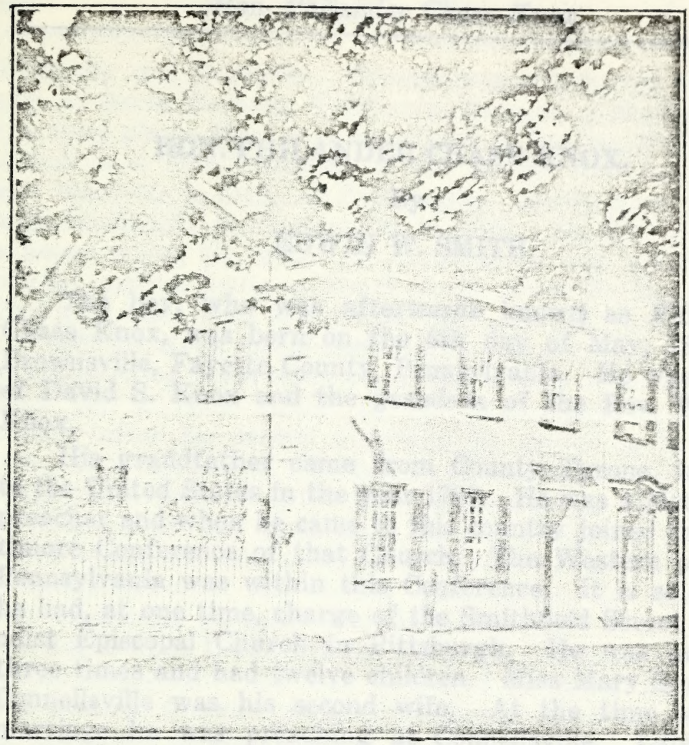
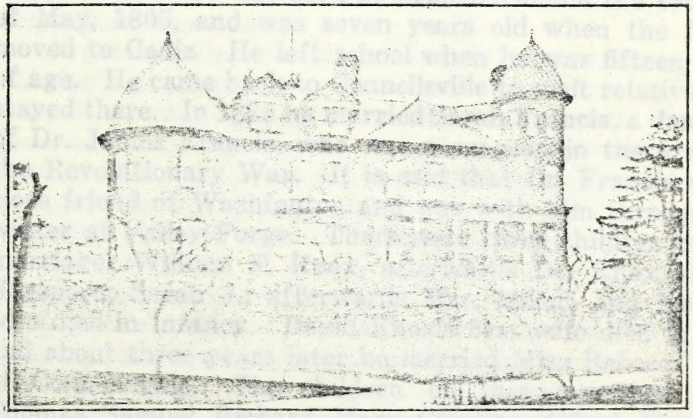


Birthplace of United States Senator Knox,
Brownsville, Pennsylvania.



Pittsburgh Home of Senator Knox.

Birthplace of United States Senator Knox,
Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

Pittsburgh Home of Senator Knox.

HON. PHILANDER CHASE KNOX.

By

EDWIN W. SMITH.

The boy, who was afterwards known as Philander Chase Knox, was born on the 6th day of May, 1853, at Brownsville, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. He was a son of David S. Knox and the grandson of the Rev. William Knox.

His grandfather came from County Tyrone, Ireland, to the United States in the year 1797. He was a Methodist preacher and when he came to this country joined the Baltimore Conference of that Church. The Western part of Pennsylvania was within this Conference. It is said that he had, at one time, charge of the Smithfield Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh. He was married three times and had twelve children. Miss Mary Smith of Connellsville was his second wife. At the time of this marriage he was preaching at Connellsville. Later the family moved to Cadiz, Ohio. He died there in 1851 being eighty-four years old.

David S. Knox was the son of his father's second wife, Mary Smith. He was born at Connellsville on the 19th day of May, 1805, and was seven years old when the family moved to Cadiz. He left school when he was fifteen years of age. He came back to Connellsville to visit relatives and stayed there. In 1829 he married Sarah Francis, a daughter of Dr. James Francis, who was a surgeon in the army of the Revolutionary War. It is said that Dr. Francis was a close friend of Washington and was with him through the winter at Valley Forge. There were three children of this marriage: William F. Knox, afterwards Dr. Knox of McKeesport; Sarah J., afterwards Mrs. Miller, and Isabella, who died in infancy. David Knox's first wife died in 1833 and about three years later he married Miss Rebecca Page of Connellsville. The children of this marriage were Thomas, Samuel, Richard, Mary, Caroline, Alfred, Narcissa,

Philander and Harriette. Thomas was afterwards a druggist at Santa Barbara, California; Samuel, a physician at the same place; Mary was Mrs. Graff of Omaha, Nebraska; Alfred is a Vice President of the Mellon National Bank, and Harriette is living at Brownsville. David Knox moved with his family to Brownsville in 1836. He first lived in a house which he rented on Front Street but afterwards bought another house on Front Street where Philander and Harriette were born and where Harriette still lives.

David S. Knox was of Scotch-Irish descent. He had learned the printing trade when a boy, had taught school and had been for a time editor of the *Uniontown Democrat*. Shortly after his second marriage, he moved to Brownsville. It is not known whether, at that time, he knew that there was a vacancy in the Monongahela Bank. He learned of it and made an application for the position. He was called before the Board of Directors and was asked for his recommendations. His answer was: "I am the son of a poor Methodist preacher and have made my own way in the world since I was fifteen years old. This is my only recommendation." He was employed as teller and held this position for six years. Not seeing much chance for advancement, he resigned and made preparations to return to Connellsville. All of his household goods were packed on wagons and just about the time that he was to start he was sent for to appear before the Board of Directors of the Bank and was offered the position of cashier, which he accepted and remained.

A characterization taken from a newspaper account published at the time Knox was appointed Attorney-General is somewhat as follows: For many years, David S. Knox was the bank itself. Everybody had implicit confidence in him. He knew all the people in that part of the country. He was strong and self reliant. He was a kind man with pleasant manners although rather stern of face. He was the friend of every man in Brownsville and the financial adviser of nearly all the people. It is said when the first war loan was offered to the people of the United States, at the time of the Civil War, the bonds went begging. The people were afraid that the country was going to be wrecked in the conflict that was to follow. David S.

Knox's advice was sought and he told everybody to take the bonds and stand by the government. As a result, the people of Brownsville and vicinity subscribed for over $2,000,000 of the bonds.

The Monongahela Bank was one of the earliest banks west of the mountains. It was the depository for a very large part of Fayette County and it is said that it never suspended specie payment.

David S. Knox died in 1872. In best of spirits and in apparent good health he retired and before morning he was dead.

It would be interesting to know something more about Knox's grandmother than we do. She had the good sensible name of Mary Smith. At least, this we know. Rebecca Page, her mother, was of English descent and the daughter of Jonathan Page and Rebekah Budd. She was a woman of extraordinary force of character, very well read, with a great love of poetry which she was fond of committing to memory and repeating to her children.

Philander Chase Knox received his name from a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His father and mother were both members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and adhered to that Church all their lives. The boy showed the precocity that many children possess. He is said to have made a little speech in public at a church entertainment when he was five years old. In this connection a part of an interesting letter to his sister, Harriette, may be quoted:

"April 6th, 1901.

Dear Duchess:

I will pull your ears when I see you for furnishing fairy tales and pictures to the reporter.

Mrs. Charlie Speer called me up this morning and said she wanted me to be sworn in on a Bible Louisa Dawson gave me as a prize for repeating 900 verses of the Bible. I don't remember a thing about it and told her so, but she said you probably had it about the house or the little one Mother used to use. Now don't say anything about this to any one as I have no desire for further youthful brilliancy to be exploited, but if you have either of the Bibles send them here so I

can have them by Monday."

His first instructor was George Osborne in the public school at Brownsville. One winter he attended the private school of Joshua Gibbons, who had a great reputation as an educator and some fame as a mathematician. Knox's brother, A. C. Knox, writes:

> "One of his teachers was old Joshua Gibbons, who was a teacher for many years in Brownsville. He taught every one of our family from the oldest to the youngest—10 children.
>
> "He was also at one time the teacher of James G. Blaine.
>
> "One time when Phil. was with him and he was misbehaving, he went over and picked him up by the nape of his neck holding him up at arms length carrying him across the school room setting him down and saying nothing—giving Phil., of course, a good fright. Gibbons was a very large man and powerfully built."

Robert Fulton was another of his teachers and later another was a man named Gilchrist.

After he went through the public school at Brownsville, he went to Morgantown, West Virginia. This school has since become the University of West Virginia. There is a tradition that Knox left Morgantown at the request of the faculty. A life-long friend of his, from college days down to the time of his death, said that Knox had told him that he was expelled because he played billiards which was against the rules. At any rate, he went to Mount Union College, which is located at Alliance, Ohio. He spent two years there and graduated in 1872.

There is one characteristic of Knox that seems to appear in all that is written and said about him now in connection with his life as a boy and that is his quality of leadershp. Everywhere he went he carried an unusual influence. When at Morgantown, it is told that he was put forward in the case of some conflict between the faculty and the students and that by the force of his argument changed the attitude of the faculty. His standing in his studies seem to have been good wherever he went to school. He was popular with his fellows and had the respect of his teachers. He seems to have been given to pranks.

There is a story that one winter, during the skating season, at Brownsville, he dressed up like a girl, but after a time of attention and flirtation from the boys he was discovered and had difficulty in making a safe escape, climbing over a fence with skirts and skates on being a hazardous task.

His father died soon after his graduation. The fall and winter after his father died, Knox was in the Monongahela Bank on a small salary. He had early made up his mind to study law. It is said that he told his parents that he intended to do so when he was not more than ten years of age. At that time he probably knew nothing about the practice of the law but he had been a great admirer of Hon. John L. Dawson, Congressman from that district, a friend of his father, who was one of the leading members of the Bar of Fayette County, and lived just across the street. It was his father's wish that he should be a lawyer. In August of 1873, he went to Albany and entered the Law School there. He was taken sick before the end of the first week and came home. One account says that he was homesick but this was not likely the reason. When he got home he found two of his sisters sick with the typhoid fever. He was stricken, and Rebecca and Caroline died from this disease.

He studied law in Brownsville, for a time with Seth T. Hurd, a lawyer and editor and owner of the *Brownsville Clipper*. In November of 1873, he came to Pittsburgh and entered the office of H. Bucher Swope, the United States District Attorney, upon the recommendation or by the influence of Judge William McKennan of the United States Circuit Court. Mr. Swope was a man of striking appearance, great ability, wonderful oratorical power and splendid voice. Knox's associate in this office was George C. Wilson, who is now one of the leaders of the Allegheny County Bar. Mr. Swope died on the 15th day of February, 1874. The records of the county courts show that Knox was registered as a student of law on April 14, 1874, with David Reed, who had been appointed to succeed Mr. Swope as United States District Attorney. He was admitted to practice in the county courts on January 14, 1875. This was less than a year from the date of his registry. George C. Wilson says that both he and Knox had studied law be-

fore they came to Pittsburgh and that upon the petition of their preceptor, David Reed, they were given credit for the time they had studied before they were registered, by Judge James P. Sterrett, who was the President Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County. On February 27, 1875, Knox was admitted to the United States Courts before Judge William McKennan of the Circuit Court and Judge Wilson McCandless of the District Court. This must have been by a special allowance because at that time the rules of the United States Courts required that a lawyer should have been admitted to practice for two years in the county courts and be a member of the Supreme Court of the state before he could be admitted to the United States Courts.

On March 3, 1875, Wilson and Knox were appointed Assistants to the United States District Attorney. Mr. Wilson says that they alternated during the sessions of the Court—one week one of them would take the work before the grand jury and the other would help the District Attorney in the jury trials, and the next week they would change. In June of 1876, David Reed was succeeded by H. H. McCormick as District Attorney. Knox resigned at this time and took an office on Fifth Avenue in the first story of a building standing where the Carnegie Building now is, four doors from Scrip Alley. Wilson and Knox had formed a partnership to carry on their civil law business and this kept up for a time but was dissolved about the time of Knox's resignation.

James H. Reed, a nephew of David Reed, and a student in his office, had been helping to look after his uncle's private business, although he had not yet been admitted to practice law and was thus thrown into close relations with Knox. David Reed died in 1877 and the firm of Knox & Reed was formed shortly after his death. The nephew held some of his uncle's clients. Knox, as Assistant United States District Attorney, with offices in the Federal Building adjoining the United States Clerk's offices, had built up an admiralty practice representing the seamen who came for redress into the United States Clerk's office, who sat as Commissioner in those cases. In this way he met many of the owners of the boats, and among the most

valuable clients of those early days were these steamboatmen. Both of these young men had influential connections which brought them business. They won and acquired success from the start. With them there was not the long period of waiting for clients. Their practice grew and it was not many years until there were enrolled on the list of their clients many important men and corporations. It is not strange that they should have won success which was continuous and that year by year the volume of their business increased. They were both industrious and capable.

The record of lawyers cases is not very interesting—even not always to other lawyers. A lawyer's methods, however, may be interesting. Knox was a student of his cases, not so much a student of the law generally. He knew the importance of the facts of every controversy. His application of the law to the facts was usually unerring. He did not care to give much attention to the details of his office practice. He liked rather to select cases which were important and interesting to him. On them he worked. He had help but the final results were his own. He studied carefully the authorities upon which he relied and understood them. When the case was ready for trial no lawyer was ever better prepared than he. It is doubtful if he ever was taken by surprise by anything that occurred in the trial. His influence upon judges was quite remarkable. The clearness of his thought and the correctness of his judgment were recognized by them. He tried a case well before a jury, but his strength was really in the argument of questions of law before a court. Until 1901 he was in active practice, but after he went to Washington he was engaged in very few cases. He closed up some litigation which was in the office by an argument in the Supreme Court of the state soon after his appointment as Attorney-General. His last case was one for his old friend, H. C. Frick, in which he appeared before the Public Service Commission and in the Superior Court with his former firm on the other side. This case was ready for argument in the Supreme Court when he died.

Knox's personal characteristics were interesting. He was very companionable and a most delightful office asso-

ciate. He was never captious and seldom irritable. He was rich in humor. It is safe to say that he enjoyed and got a great deal of pleasure out of his life. He had many intimate friends. He was easily approachable. Those who knew him stood in no awe of him. He was a big man in his relations with others, generous and ready to grant indulgence and to give credit. His amusements were varied. He liked reading and music and the drama. He was fond of the outdoor sports, a good fisherman and a fine horseman. He kept fine horses and owned at one time a pair called Dr. Leek and Wert. With this team he broke the amateur record at Brunot Island driving himself in a light wagon. There is an incident in connection with this. A case, to which reference has been made before, was brought into the office by a new client, who, it was said, did not care so much about Mr. Knox as a lawyer, but he wanted the man who had broken that record.

One day a party went to Sewickley to take dinner with a lawyer friend. Among them was Knox. During the afternoon there was a drive out over the Sewickley Heights in a four-horse drag. Knox was on the box seat with the driver and after awhile was given the reins. At a very sharp turn on a steep grade he asked the driver to take the lead lines. The driver, an Englishman, and, of course, a professional, was asked afterwards by the host what kind of a driver Mr. Knox was. The answer was: "Very good for an amateur."

On July 9, 1896, Knox was elected President of the Pennsylvania Bar Association. He was the third President. His predecessors were Judge John W. Simonton of Harrisburg and Samuel Dickson of Philadelphia. He presided at the meeting of the Association held at Cresson, Pennsylvania, beginning on June 30, 1897. His annual address was upon "The Law of Labor and Trade" with the text "The right to labor is a necessary consequence of the right to live" and "the freedom of contract is inviolable." This address was an extremely good one and is found in the report of the Association for the year 1897. In it he advanced the thought that was frequently the subject of his talk that the common law was sufficient to protect the rights of labor and to restrain all unlawful combinations of

either labor or capital.

Knox's political career was remarkable. Never openly active in politics and probably never a delegate to any political convention, he had never held any office but that of Assistant to the United States District Attorney until he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States by President William McKinley on April 9, 1901, near the beginning of his second term. While at Mount Union, Knox had met and known McKinley, who was the District Attorney for Stark County, Ohio, and the friendship had been maintained.

After the assassination of President McKinley, Knox was again appointed Attorney-General by President Roosevelt and served until June 30, 1904. On June 10, 1904, Governor Pennypacker appointed him Senator to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Senator M. S. Quay, and he was afterward elected for the term from 1905 to 1911. In 1907 he resigned his seat in the Senate to become Secretary of State in President Taft's cabinet, which position he retained until the end of the administration on March 4, 1913. In 1916, upon the retirement of Senator George S. Oliver, he was again elected to the United States Senate for the term from 1917 to 1923. Thus it was that he held seats in the cabinets of three successive Presidents and was once appointed and twice elected Senator.

His work as Attorney-General was most useful and effective. Perhaps the most important case that he had was what is known as the Northern Securities Case. The Northern Securities Company had been organized as a holding company to take over the stocks of certain railroad companies evidently in an effort to evade the provisions of the Acts of Congress. Under Knox's direction, a bill in equity was filed in the District Court of Minnesota. It was there heard by a full bench of three Circuit Judges particularly designated to hear the case. Knox retained David T. Watson, Esq., of the Allegheny County Bar, to try this case in the Circuit Court and it was won. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, Knox argued the case and it was again won. The effect of this decision was extremely important. It sustained the power of the government against the strong unlawful com-

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binations of corporations. During Knox's term as Attorney-General, he had charge of the business involved in the acquiring by the United States of the ownership of the Panama Canal from its French owners. The transaction involved a consideration of $40,000,000, and Knox, without the aid of any outside lawyers, carried that transaction through. After having sent some of his subordinates to Paris, he followed them, passed upon the title of the French ownership and completed the transaction.

In a book called "Mirrors of Washington," published anonymously, it is said by the author:

> "Mr. Knox began his public career by attacking the Northern Securities merger, against the judgment of some of the highest paid lawyers of the country. The Supreme Court sustained him. It was the greatest victory the government ever won under the Sherman law. Thereafter Mr. Knox, who had been labeled a corporation lawyer, was proclaimed a trust buster. By the time he was fifty he had become the greatest Attorney-General in a half century. Certainly the mark he set has never been reached by any of his successors."

A very interesting incident in relation to his appointment as Secretary of State by President Taft is told by the Honorable James Francis Burke in a speech which he delivered at a memorial meeting of the Allegheny County Bar Association upon the death of Knox. After it had been announced by Taft that Knox would accept the position of Secretary of State in the cabinet, a Washington correspondent called upon Knox and, during the conversation, suggested to him that under a constitutional provision he was not eligible to the office as the salary of Secretary of State had been increased while Knox was in the Senate. Knox said with a smile: "You are right. I am ineligible and I confess that you are a more alert constitutional lawyer than either the President or myself, because neither one of us have thought of it." Mr. Taft was notified and sent the following telegram to Mr. Burke:

"New Orleans, La., February 11, 1909.
9:47 P. M.
HON. JAMES FRANCIS BURKE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

I sincerely hope that Congress will pass bill to remove any doubt of Knox's eligibility. I have no doubt that an act to repeal the bill increasing the salary of the Secretary of State will effect this purpose. I sincerely hope that it will pass. I should regard the loss of Senator Knox from the first place in my cabinet as a public misfortune.

WM. H. TAFT."

Mr. Burke in his address said:

"The suggestion in that telegram was carried out and the Congress reduced the salary of Secretary of State to the former level, in order that Mr. Knox might be made eligible for the highest place in the Cabinet. Thus the constitutional obstacle was removed and two unprecedented situations arose.

"For the first time in the history of the American Government, the Congress had virtually legislated a man into the President's Cabinet, and second, for a long time thereafter the highest ranking officer in the President's Cabinet received the lowest salary of them all."

There would be no purpose in attempting to enumerate the things that he did as Secretary of State. His administration was recognized as most useful. He tried to organize a body in the diplomatic service of the United States of men who were young enough and capable enough to make the service efficient and respected. Along this line he did something that was worth while.

As a Senator, he was early recognized as one of the ablest men and as one of the best constitutional lawyers in the body. It is said that he drafted the declaration of war against Germany. He originated the idea that Congress had the right to make peace with Germany after the failure of the adoption of the League of Nations, and this

idea was subsequently made effective by an Act of Congress. His attitude against the participation of the United States in the League of Nations was irreconcilable. He is reported to have said that if he was the only man in the Senate to do so he would vote against the approval of the Treaty of Versailles which included the League of Nations. He early took the position that it was futile to impose upon Germany such indemnities as would be destructive of that nation. These views did not make for his popularity. Probably no man cared as little for popularity as he did. Right or wrong, the people of the United States later came to adopt his principles in relation to the League of Nations.

It is said that he twice was offered and declined the position of Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Twice he was seriously mentioned as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

The University of Pennsylvania gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1906, Yale University in 1907 and Villa Nova in 1909.

He died suddenly at his home in Washington on the evening of October 12, 1921, in his sixty-ninth year. He left to survive him his widow, Lillian Smith Knox, the daughter of Andrew G. Smith of Pittsburgh, whom he had married on February 29, 1876, three sons and a daughter.

He had established a beautiful home at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania, which he left by his will to his daughter, Mrs. Rebecca Knox Tindel.

This is the short record of a useful and successful life. In recent years no son of Pennsylvania has left a record so marked by the luster of personal ability and by the splendor of achievement.

TEN YEARS ON HISTORIC GROUND.

Early and Later Days at the Pittsburgh Point.

By

REV. MORGAN M. SHEEDY, D.D.*

Down at the corner of Third Avenue and Ferry Street, Pittsburgh, stands the Catholic Church of Saint Mary of Mercy. It is one of the few, if not to-day, the only down-town church in that part of the city. It has an interesting history, chiefly because within the limits of the parish the first religious service in Western Pennsylvania was held during the French occupation of Fort Duquesne, as will be noted later on in this paper. It is also interesting to note that the present site of this Catholic church was the original site of the leading Presbyterian Church of the city which was destroyed in the great fire of 1845, and afterwards the Ames Methodist Episcopal Church occupied the site. In May, 1876, it became the property of the Catholic congregation at "The Point." The present building was erected and dedicated on Trinity Sunday, May 28, 1893. One cannot fail to note the significance of these religious changes. Not only in Pittsburgh, but in all our large cities the down-town churches are abandoned, leaving those people who are forced to live there without any moral or spiritual ministration.

For ten years (1885-1895) the writer of this paper was Rector of the St. Mary of Mercy Church. He had, as we shall see, a strenuous time. He succeeded the late Dr. A. A. Lambing, the well-known local historian, sometime President of this Western Pennsylvania Historical Society and always deeply interested in its work.

Immediately after taking charge of the parish I discovered two important things: First, that I was on historic ground; that in the early days two great nations, France and England, fought here for supremacy; and secondly,

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on November 29, 1921.

that there was here an inviting field of labor for social and civic betterment. The First ward of Pittsburgh in those days had an unenviable reputation. It was the "red-light" district of the town; what is known as "the underworld" had its habitation there.

That I might know something of the early and stirring days I became a member of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society which met then in a room of the Carnegie Library, Allegheny City, now the North Side, Pittsburgh, and I read all the local history I could find. As a result this is what I found:

Both the French and the English laid claim to the territory embracing the Western part of Pennsylvania, the former by right of La Salle's discovery, and the latter as forming a part of her colonies; and about the middle of the eighteenth century both prepared to assert their claim by force of arms. The French had already built small fortifications at Presqu'isle, on the headquarters of French Creek and at its mouth, but these principally with a view to further movements. Late in the fall of 1753, Major George Washington, whose illustrious name the reader will be pleased to find so early mentioned in the history of Pittsburgh, was appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, the bearer of dispatches to the commander of the French at these posts; and on the strength of his report a small body of men was sent out under command of Captain William Trent, to throw up a fortification at "the Forks," as the land at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela was then called, a name which was soon after changed to that of "the Point," which it still bears. He arrived on the seventeenth of February, 1754, and with this date begins the permanent occupation of the site of Pittsburgh. Prior to that time it had been known among the Indians by the name *De-un-da-ga.* He commenced a small fortification, but before its completion the French and Indians suddenly appeared to the number of about one thousand, with eighteen cannon, in sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, under the command of Captain Contrecoeur, having descended the Allegheny. Contrecoeur summoned Ensign Ward, who commanded in the absence of Captain Trent, to an immediate surrender. Having but

forty men in his command, nothing was left but to comply. The next day he was permitted to retire with his men up the Monongahela. The French then built a fort at the Point, to which they gave the name of Fort Duquesne, in honor of Marquis Du Quesne, Governor-General of New France. But only the garrison occupied the fort; the Indian allies and many of the French lived near it in cabins, and only retired within the enclosure when menaced by an enemy.

The following description of the fort as given by a prisoner detained there in the fall of 1756, will convey an idea of the appearance and strength of this, perhaps the most important French post at that time in the country: "It is four square, has bastions at each corner; it is about fifty yards long and about forty yards wide. About half the fort is made of square logs, and the other half, next the water, of stockades; there are entrenchments cast up all around the fort, about seven feet high, which consist of stockades driven into the ground near to each other and wattled with poles like basket-work, against which the earth is thrown up, in a gradual ascent; the steep part is next the fort, and has three steps all along the entrenchment, for the men to go up and down, to fire at an enemy; these entrenchments are about four rods from the fort and go all around, as well on the side next the water as the land; the outside of the entrenchment next to the water joins to the water. The fort has two gates, one of which opens to the land side, and the other to the water side, where the magazine is built; that to the land side is, in fact, a drawbridge which in day-time serves as a bridge for the people, and in the night is drawn up by iron chains and levers. The water sometimes rises so high as that the whole fort is surrounded with it, so that the canoes may go around it. The stockades are round logs, better than a foot over, and about eleven or twelve feet high; the joints are secured by split logs; in the stockades are loop-holes made, so as to fire slanting toward the ground. The bastions are filled with earth, solid, about eight feet high; each bastion has four carriage guns, about four pound; no swivels, nor any mortars. They have no cannon but at the bastions. The back of the barracks and buildings are

of logs about three feet distance from the logs of the fort; between the buildings and the logs of the fort it is filled with earth about eight feet high, and the logs of the fort extend about four feet higher, so that the whole height of the fort is about twelve feet. There are no pickets nor palisades on the top of the fort to defend it against scaling. There are no bogs nor morasses near the fort, but good dry ground, which is cleared for some distance from the fort, and the stumps cut closely to the ground. There are about twenty or thirty ordinary Indian cabins about the fort." ("The Olden Time," vol. I., pp. 39, 40.)

To return to the early history, the English immediately adopted measures for retaking the place, in which General Braddock was met by the French and Indians and defeated at what is now Braddock on the Monongahela, ten miles from the fort, on July 9, 1775. Major Grant met a similar fate within the present city limits on September 15, 1758. But the French seeing it impossible to resist the army advancing under General Forbes, set fire to the fort and adjacent buildings, November 24, of the same year, and withdrew to Lake Erie. The English took possession of the ruins the following day, and soon after commenced the erection of Fort Pitt from which the city was in time to take its name. The French posts in the Northwest of Pennsylvania were soon after abandoned, and the French power was destroyed in Western Pennsylvania.

I shall now turn to the religious history of these early times. It is well known to every student of American history that the French soldiers and generally their Indian allies also were Catholics; and that on all their expeditions they were attended by an army chaplain, who said Mass daily in the camp, not only when there was no danger of surprise, but also in the face or in pursuit of the enemy, when haste and vigilance were necessary. We have a striking illustration of this religious custom in our own locality and at the precise period of which we are now treating. When M. De Villiers was marching against the English, who were encamped at a place within the limits of the pres-

ent Fayette County, he kept a journal of the expedition, in which we read: "The 29 (June, 1754) Mass was said in the camp, after which we marched," etc. ("The Olden Time," vol. II., p 211.) There can be no doubt that a chaplain attended the important expedition that descended the Allegheny to take possession of "the Forks," and that Mass was celebrated the morning after the arrival; for now the French were undisputed masters, and no enemy was near to menace them. It was Friday in Easter week, April 17, 1754.

During the French occupation at Fort Duquesne religious services were regularly held. The Reverend Charles Baron, a native of France and a member of the Franciscan order, who in religion had taken the name of Denys, was chaplain to the French forces. He was ordained September 23, 1741. After serving several different parishes in Canada, he was appointed chaplain of this expedition, and took up his residence at Fort Duquesne. Sometime before the abandonment of the fort another chaplain succeeded him, and Father Denys was transferred to the chaplaincy of Fort St. Frederic at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, where he died November 6, 1758, a few days before the fall of Fort Duquesne.

There is in existence a record of the baptisms and interments that took place at the fort from the arrival of the French till October, 1756. This record was rescued from oblivion in the archives of Canada and one hundred copies were printed by Mr. John Gilmary Shea in 1859. It is an octavo volume of fifty-two pages, in old French, of which the translation of the title is: "The Register of the Baptisms and interments which took place at Fort Duquesne during the years 1753, 1754, 1755 and 1756." The Register is divided into three parts, each duly authenticated by M. Contrecoeur, commander of the fort, and contains fifteen baptisms, of which two only are French, eight Irish, two English and three Indians, one being that of Jean Baptiste Christiguay, "great chief of the Iroquois," who was then in the ninety-fifth year of his age. The number of interments were forty-two—thirty-four from Fort Duquesne and eight from the posts on and near Lake Erie—all of which were French, except two English and four Indians. The first entry from Fort Duquesne is dated

June 5, 1754, and the last October 10, 1756. What became of the register of the last two years is not known. The entries from Fort Duquesne are all signed "fr. Denys Baron, chaplain," except one which has in connection with his name that of "fr. Luc Collet, chaplain of Presqu'isle and French Creek." The title in the entries till August 6, 1754, is merely "Fort Duquesne of the Beautiful River."

So much for the early history, military and religious, that centres at " the Point" when it was known as Fort Duquesne. When the English got possession the name was changed to Fort Pitt which in time gave us the name of Pittsburgh. Passing over the intervening years during which the city began to grow, year by year, to larger proportions until it became the great industrial and commercial centre it is today, I come to the decade to which reference was made in the early part of this paper; the period from 1885 to 1895—a most interesting period in the local history of "the Point" as well as in the general history of the city.

As stated already the writer was Pastor of St. Mary's church during those years. The position was not an enviable one. The First ward, which comprised the historic places that clustered round "the Forks" or "the Point," did not bear the best reputation for good order and the highest type of citizenship. It was a battle ground in which was a warfare between the forces of good and evil for higher and better social and civic ideals. And this fight went on unceasingly during the decade from 1885 to 1895.

I shall be pardoned, I trust, if in dealing with this part of the subject, I am somewhat personal. This cannot well be avoided. The evil forces at work in the down-town district may be grouped under three heads: the abuses of the liquor traffic, the social evil, and corrupt politics. Before the enactment of the Brooks' high license law (May 18, 1887) almost any one who had the price could secure a license to sell liquor, with the result that in this district the lowest saloons were found in great abundance. These places were the haunts of criminals and were known all over the city. Within a few months of the first year I had charge of St. Mary's church three murders were committed

in these low "dives," scarcely a stone's throw apart. When the high license law went into effect a large number of these places were weeded out. The late Judge White presided over the first session of the High License Court. He was a stern opponent of the liquor traffic. When he handed down the license list of that year it was found that less than a hundred licenses were granted for the whole city. There was a great outcry from the supporters of the liquor traffic and the judge was roundly denounced by those who were refused license and their friends. Just as at the present time, especially in our large cities, an attempt is made to set at naught the Volstead law, so was it sought in this state, and especially in this down-town district of Pittsburgh to evade the high license law by running what was known as "speakeasys." Heavy fines and imprisonments, however, by the Courts soon put an end to the "speakeasys."

We had a large temperance society in the parish that was doing effective work in saving especially the young people from the evils of intemperance. It was a not unusual thing to find a Catholic clergyman, the Rector of St. Mary's, present every year at the opening of the license court to protest against the granting of a liquor license to unworthy applicants from the First ward. And it is worthy of note that for ten years not a single applicant received a license against whom he had protested. And thus the number of saloons was greatly lessened and the liquor traffic brought under restraint in the down-town district. This obviously made for civic betterment.

With the social evil and low politics I must deal lightly. The subject is an unpleasant one. This much, however, may be said: It was the policy then, perhaps it is so still, of the public safety department of the city to confine the inmates of "the underworld" to a certain district. Unfortunately for those forced to live there, that was the down-town district, from Market Street to Penn Avenue and from First to Fourth Avenue; this was the "red-light" quarter of the town, turned over largely to these unfortunate people. It was said to be controlled by a certain disreputable character, who shared the profits of the vile trade with certain "higher ups" of the police department for the protection given him. From time to

time there was carried on a crusade, led by some clergyman, against the social evil which made a great stir for awhile, but little or nothing came of it. One of these notable crusades took place during Mayor Gourley's administration. The "red-light" houses were closed and the inmates driven to the streets or to other parts of the city. But when the storm blew over, they found their way back to the old haunts and things went on pretty much as before. It was a hard and constant fight to save the young people from the immoral contagion that prevailed in this part of the town.

Of the character of the fight, let me recall here the saying of the late Reverend Dr. Allison, then editor of the *Presbyterian Banner*, which summed up the situation: "The fight down there in the First ward is between Father Sheedy and the Devil; in such a fight I am, heart and soul, with the good Father." And so he was. So, too, was the Reverend E. R. Donehoo, a broad-minded, liberal clergyman, pastor for thirty years of the West End or Eighth Presbyterian Church, whose splendid public service in every good cause was felt in the community. He was known as the "reporters' friend," for no newspaper man in need of a "story" was ever known to go to him and fail to get one.

But the strongest influence was that of the late Reverend Dr. George Hodges, the Rector of Calvary Episcopal Church, East End. One day, when things were at the worst, Dr. Hodges said to me: "Let us build a bridge (he meant a social and civic bridge) between the East End and the 'Point.'" That was the invitation this good man gave me more than thirty years ago. It was an urgent call to duty and I was glad to have the co-operation and active support of this efficient social worker. We at once set to work. He looked after the building of the bridge at one end and I at the other. The bridge was soon built. Dr. Hodges brought the people of the East End in great numbers down to the "Point." The recent opening of the Exposition building was an attraction—and I urged very strongly the people of the Point to move out to the wide spaces beyond Schenley Park and mingle with those more happily situated there.

This joint work for social and civic betterment went on for ten years, Dr. Hodges by voice and pen and practical organization doing a very large share of the work. Here I may state that I have met few men more resourceful in social welfare ideas and the practical means in carrying them out than Dr. Hodges. He was a great Christian social democrat and he loved the common people. In those days there was no stronger and far-reaching influence for good in Pittsburgh than his. Today social service is accepted everywhere. Thirty years ago it was a new idea but it soon took hold of the public mind, the practical results of which are felt today in the congested parts of all our large cities.

Putting the idea into practical shape we established down'town a social settlement, known as the Kingsley House. I should have wished that the name of Newman was coupled with that of Kingsley, calling it the Newman-Kingsley House, thus linking the two famous English clergymen, who, whilst they differed widely in doctrine, were in perfect accord in social work. In this way I thought the admirers of both would be made to forget the bitter controversy carried on by Cardinal Newman (then Dr. Newman) and Rev. Charles Kingsley. We interested the best people of Pittsburgh in the work of the settlement house, and I trust, that its work goes on to the present day.

Another project of those days that met with popular favor and had the best results was the Sunday afternoon concerts that we inaugurated in the Exposition building down at the "Point." This, too, was the outcome of the civic bridge-building. The concerts were a tremendous success. The strict "Sabbatarians" were violently opposed to them. The press and public, however, applauded, and the Sunday afternoon concerts were a great success. Today when Sunday golf and Sunday motoring are the fashion, one wonders at the opposition to Sunday sacred concerts a little over a quarter of a century ago.

Thus does time work its changes. We had to explain how the Lord's Day, called by some "the Sabbath," was to be properly observed. Today Americans very generally have come to accept, I believe, the view of the proper observance of the Lord's day or Sunday then set forth.

I have here set down rather hurriedly and imperfectly an outline of the social and civic conditions that prevailed in and near the historic ground where old Fort Duquesne, afterwards Fort Pitt, stood during the decade from 1885 to 1895. I have also noted the fight that went on during those years for the social and civic betterment of the down-town community. Today things are very different. The pressure of business has crowded out many of the residents of this part of the city, and of those who still remain the writer learns that they are honest, upright, model citizens of Pittsburgh.

Perhaps the fight for higher and better civic ideals on this historic ground, like the struggle between the two great nations, France and England, for supremacy, was not in vain. At any rate the period covered by this paper (1885-1895) makes an interesting chapter in the history of Pittsburgh, to which the future historian may turn in dealing with his subject. If so what is here set down may prove to be worth while.

THE LIFE AND TIMES of ROBERT KING REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT.

By

HENRY KING SIEBENECK*

Robert King, the subject of this sketch, was born in Donegal County, Ireland, on January 3, 1747. (1) Little is known of his ancestry beyond the fact that it was Scotch-Irish, and, of course, Presbyterian. His forbears, at the time of the Ulster Plantation, in the reign of James the First, doubtless migrated with hundreds of others from the Lowlands of Scotland. That stock, historians generally agree, had as little Gaelic blood in it as any in the northern half of Great Britain.

The aim of Sir Francis Bacon and other Jacobean statesmen in the Ulster Plantation was to establish a permanent garrison to protect British interests in Ireland against the encroachments of the native Celts, always a source of worry to the government in England. The memorable defenses of Londonderry and Inniskilling in the Revolution of 1688 showed how well the Scotch-Irish colonists were fitted for the purpose of their "plantation." Yet, both before and after the overthrow of the Stuarts, these Ulstermen received but scant courtesy from their British overlords. Irish shipping was restricted to narrow bounds by the Navigation Acts. The export of Irish wool, the staple industry of the island, was totally prohibited; and the Dissenters (three-fifths of the Protestant population) were excluded from holding any office, civil or military, above the lowest grade. (2)

*The writer contemplates an additional publication on the subject of Robert King, and anyone having papers or other information about him, not contained in the above article, will confer a favor by communicating with the writer.

These measures brought about an extensive migration from Ireland to America, and mainly to Pennsylvania. Two authorities, separated from each other by a half century of time, Archbishop Boulter in 1728 (3), and Arthur Young in 1776,, agree that this exodus was confined almost entirely to Scotch-Irish Presbyterians engaged in the linen trade. When that business was brisk, says Young, emigration was slack, and *vice versa*. Linen making was a cottage-industry, and linen manufacturers were capitalists in a small way. When business prospects were bad, the linen maker sold his equipment, and paid his and his family's passage to the New World. (4)

Under conditions such as these, it may be surmised, Thomas King broke up his home in Donegal and sailed for Pennsylvania in the year 1753, bringing with him his six-year-old son, Robert. (5) Of the latter's education nothing is known, and all that can be inferred with certainty is that he learned to compose a good letter, and to spell far better than many of his superior officers.

Robert first appears in the records as a grown man. In a letter of his written to Judge Charles Huston, he explains that in the year 1769 he was hunter for the surveyors in what is now Centre County. To appreciate his surroundings and activities, it is necessary to delve into the colonial history of Pennsylvania.

In 1768, the Penn family made their last Indian purchase. It had always been their boast that they had never forcibly deprived the Indian of his hunting-ground, but had taken only what they had bought. Thus, the vicinity of Philadelphia had been acquired through the famous Treaty, made by the Founder with the Lenape under the Great Elm at Shackamaxon. And so, before 1760, the Penns had purchased from the Redmen all the lands in their province that lay East of the Alleghany Mountains and South of Penn's Creek (near the centre of Pennsylvania) and a line drawn from the Susquehanna to the confluence of the Lackawaxen and Delaware rivers. After Pontiac's conspiracy had been crushed, the whites and the Indians met at Fort Stanwix, New York, and there on November 5, 1768, the "Proprietaries," as the Penns were called, negotiated the

purchase of a belt of land running from the Northeast corner of their province to its Southwest corner. The "New Purchase" was bounded to the North and West by the New York line, by Towanda and Tiadaghton creeks, the West Branch of the Susquehanna, by the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, and by the Virginia line. This irregularly shaped tract, resembling on the map a crude dumbbell, includes the whole of twelve of our present counties and parts of thirteen others. It contained nearly fourteen thousand square miles of land, overlying the greater portion of the coal, anthracite and bituminous, on which the present prosperity of the State is based. The price paid by the Penns to the Indians for this Golconda was $10,200.00. (6) If one-fifth, only, of its area had been available for farms, the rates at which it was immediately offered to the public would have made that fifth worth $448,000.00.

The first step taken by the Proprietaries in this real estate operation was to reserve one-tenth of the land as "Manors," or private estates. Then came the turn of Bouquet's officers who had overcome Pontiac's Indians at Bushy Run. These veterans had planned to form a military colony, somewhat on the model of the Ulster Plantation. (7) To them were allotted 24,000 acres, partly on Bald Eagle Creek, near the present site of Bellefonte. Then 1,500 acres were set off to Dr. Francis Allison, the Schoolmaster of the Revolution, another native of Donegal. And then on April 3, 1769, the Land Office was opened to the general public. Any citizen might buy 300 acres for fifteen pounds sterling, and one penny per acre, a year, quit-rent; but a survey had to be made on each "application" within six months and the full price paid within twelve. (8) A wild fever of land-speculation at once seized the Province, a craze never since surpassed in intensity. Pennsylvania then had 240,000 inhabitants, of whom about 39,000 were taxable persons. (9) Before August 31, 1769, no less than 4,000 applications for land in the "New Purchase" were entered (10), nine-tenths of which were for acreage on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. The proceeding was simple. Captain Grant, "a pirticular friend" of Robert King, paid a dollar for the privilege of applying for 300 acres "just above the Pro-

prietaries' land at Muncy Creek, including Wolf Run". (11) On each "application," thus loosely expressed, a warrant issued to the deputy-surveyor of the district to locate and run the lines of the tract applied for; and when the survey was returned and the purchase price paid, a deed, or patent, was delivered to the applicant or his assigns. Surveys cost a considerable sum, and probably were never made on half of the applications, although the Land Office regularly extended the six months period allowed for surveying. On the other hand, some of the most desirable lands would be surveyed half a dozen different times on as many applications. The rule was always to find some tract to suit the application. It became quite an art to locate the best acreage in this land of mountain ranges and fertile valleys, and required the services of expert woodsmen and explorers, such as Hawkins Boone (a cousin of Daniel Boone), who will be encountered later.

The whole territory was uninhabited and uncultivated, without roads in most places, and to enable the surveyors to perform their labors it was, of course, necessary to supply them with provisions. To do so, in a region teeming with game, the hunter became an adjunct to the surveyor. Robert King, then twenty-two years of age, followed this calling. Many years later, when interrogated about a disputed land-title he wrote that in 1769, 1770 and 1771 he was hunter for the surveyors, and that, incidentally, he himself had entered an application for a tract on March Creek, on the north side of Bald Eagle and adjoining the "Officers Survey," (12) near the present village of Milesburg, Centre County. King wrote, "I should be one of the most ungrateful wretchs on earth, if I did not do everything in my power to serve Mr. Grant, as I know him to be my pirticular friend"—but adds that in the suit against Gunsaulus he can be of little assistance. He remembers that the agent of Samuel Wallis, the "land king" of the day, got a number of surveys made in that vicinity, but he is uncertain of their exact location—"as I did not carry the chain the whole of the time. I was hunter for the surveyors." And then he mentions another man who might be a good witness in the pending suit of Captain Thomas Grant, Sheriff of

Northumberland County in 1785.

William Maclay, Charles Lukens and William Scull were deputy-surveyors for these districts, and John Lukens was the Surveyor-General. When Robert King says, "I was along with Messrs. Lukens, I think in the year 1769-1770 and perhaps 1771," he implies that he was working in Charles Lukens' district including the Bald Eagle Valley. Between the 3rd of March and the 16th of May, 1769, these "Officers' Surveys" were made (13). The surveyors' work can be followed, day by day, in the records of their field notes. On May 12, 1770, they surveyed the Thomas Sutherland place in Dry Valley, now in the Township and County of Union, ten miles west of Northumberland Town. The surveyors noted on their maps—"This land Robert King has bought." This was his first residence. He sold part of the tract in 1773 to David Emerick, who, with his wife, was captured there by marauding Indians in 1781. They killed and scalped Emerick and carried his wife off to the wilds, where she married one of her captors. Years afterward, the mixed couple came back, and received the widow's share of the estate of this Hamlet of the Susquehanna, slain by this Iroquois Claudius . (14)

At this period of his life, King was a true frontiersman, hunter and settler, clad in a costume part Indian, part European. His hunting shirt was a loose frock reaching half-way down his thighs and so wide as to lap over a foot or more behind. Its cape was fringed with cloth of a color different from the shirt itself. Its bosom served as a wallet where food or tow for wiping his rifle might be kept. The belt, always tied behind, held the bullet bag, and from the right was suspended the tomahawk, from the left, the scalping knife in its leathern sheath. Breeches and leggins enclosed his thighs and legs, and his feet were supplied with moccasins. (15)

Philip Fithian, a Presbyterian missionary, visited the "New Purchase" about this time and has left a graphic account of his journey, picturing the diversity of living conditions in the same neighborhood. First, he tells of his visit to the home of Andrew B. ——— on Bald Eagle Creek:

"We dined there on fish—suckers and chubs—and veni-

son. Two Indian boys came in with a gift of seven large fish. In return, Mrs. B.——— gave them bread and venison. Down they sat, stirred up the coals and laid on their flesh. When it was roasted they devoured it with the greatest rapacity.

"This house looks and smells like a shambles—raw flesh, fish and deer, mangled, wasting on every shelf. Hounds licking up the blood from the floor. An open-hearted landlady, naked Indians and children, and ten thousand flies and flees!

"Four Indians come in, each with a large knife and tomahawk. Bless me! they are strapping fellows! all stand dumb before us.

"Some of these Indians have the outside rim of their ears slitted and it hangs dangling strangely. Some have rings, others drops of silver in their noses and ears; ruffled shirts, but many of these very greasy. On the trees, near their camps, are painted in red and black colors, wild and ferocious animals in furious gestures."

Next day the missionary came into Penn's Valley and stayed at Colonel Potter's. "A neat house, an elegant supper, all expressions of welcome, and—not a flea! * * * Colonel Potter has Blackstone's Commentaries, Pope's Works, Harvey's Meditations, and many theological tracts." (16)

As the surveyors proceeded with their tasks, settlers flocked into this part of the "New Purchase," and the County of Northumberland was erected by the Act of March 21, 1772, for their convenience. The new county extended as far west as Lake Erie, as far east as the head of the Lehigh River, to the Indian land on the north, and Mahantango Creek on the south. Col. Francis, late of Bouquet's army, Dr. William Plunket, and other prominent residents, were appointed Justices of the Peace. On April 9, 1772, they held a court of "Private Sessions" at which this new county, as large as many an old state, was cut up into provinces, or townships. Buffalo Township began at the mouth of Penn's Creek and ran west to Millheim, now in Centre County, then north to Lock Haven, and down the Susquehanna. It included the whole of the present

Union County and parts of Snyder, Centre, Clinton and Lycoming counties. Its area exceeded six hundred square miles. The first peace-officer, charged with maintaining order in this huge bailiwick, was Robert King, then in his twenty-sixth year, appointed April 9, 1772. (17)

Other distinctions followed. On August 14, 1772, the Proprietaries, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, by letters patent, granted to Robert King, his executors and assigns, the franchise of operating a ferry over the Susquehanna River at Sunbury, the new county seat. This franchise he sold November 30, 1773, to Adam Haveling. (18)

At May Term of Court in 1773 Robert King and others were appointed viewers to lay out a road from the site of Lewisburg through Buffalo Valley. (19)

The family Bible shows that he married Elizabeth McCullough, born on June 26, 1756, in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, but omits the date of their wedding and the Christian name of her father. There were McCulloughs listed as tax-payers in West Pennsboro and Middleton Townships, Cumberland County, in 1762 (20) and the name appears many times in the later records of the Carlisle Presbyterian Church. But no relationship with any of them can be traced.

His first child, Eleanor, was born June 1, 1774, in Northumberland County, the family Bible records. Soon afterwards, the young couple moved to the new village of Northumberland at the forks of the Susquehanna. In the first assessment of that township, made before 1775, he and Hawkins Boone are each accredited with the ownership of a house and lot, being two of only eighteen such householders. (21) King's lot was No. 18 in the new town-plan. The original proprietors of the town, John Lowden and William Patterson made him a deed for it on September 9, 1776, subject to a quit-rent of two shillings and six pence. (21 a)

And it was here that his first son, John, was born September 14, 1775—the family Bible notes the event as having occurred in the "Town and County of Northumberland."

To this little settlement came the missionary Fithian

in the stirring month of June, 1775. After drinking a friendly bowl of toddy with the "pleasant Dutchman," he crossed the river to Northumberland. "This infant village," he says, "seems busy and noisy as a Philadelphia ferry-house. I slept in a room with seven boatmen and in bed with one of them. He was clean and civil. * * * Going up and down the river are many boats, canoes, etc., plying about. * * * I stayed with Mrs. Scull, who has a pleasant and valuable garden with a neat summerhouse. She has a well furnished parlor with four paintings of Hypocrates, Tully, Socrates and Galen. * * * She took me into Mr. Scull's library. It is charming to see books in the infancy of this remote land. I borrowed for my amusement Critical Review No. 44. * * * Mr. Haines, the proprietor of the town, took me to see a lot he is going to give to the Presbyterian Society. * * * I dined with Dr. Allison and Mr. Barker at Mrs. Scull's. It has been entertainment worthy of royalty * * * books and literary improvement were the subjects of conversation." (22)

Fithian, the Presbyterian, was deeply interested in this section of Pennsylvania, because it had been peopled largely by men of his denomination, driven from Ireland by the rapacity of their landlords or by commercial oppression; men who, as Lecky puts it, had left their old homes "with hearts burning with indignation." In that critical epoch there were no more zealous advocates of American Independence than these sons of Erin. Generals Robertson and Lee of the opposing forces, and the Tory, Speaker Galloway, agree that one-half of Washington's army were Irish. (23) The British officers, who wintered at Philadelphia, called the Revolution a "Scotch-Irish Rebellion." (24) And on the Upper Susquehanna the Scotch-Irish controlled the situation.

One manifestation of their attitude in politics is often cited by local historians, but does not seem to have found its way into the general literature of the period. It is known as "The Pine Creek Declaration of Independence," and is fairly comparable to the Mecklenburg Declaration. It seems that the whites were doubtful whether the boundary stream, called by the Indians in the Treaty of 1768,

"Tiadaghton," was the Lycoming or Pine Creek. With Quaker prudence, the Proprietaries adopted the former water course as the Indian boundary, and so reduced the salable area of their purchase by some five hundred square miles. Between these creeks no land titles could be lawfully acquired, and white settlements were forbidden under severe penalties. Nevertheless, this no-man's land was settled by the hardy Scotch-Irish of the frontier, who became, literally, a law unto themselves. They elected "Fair-play men" to be their judges (25), and in all respects governed themselves without leave or license from the Penns. These adventurous souls issued a call for a meeting to discuss public affairs at Great Isle, two hundred miles northwest of Philadelphia, and many days distant from news of the Continental Congress. By a curious coincidence the meeting took place on July 4, 1776, and then and there these liberty-loving pioneers adopted a set of resolutions declaring their own independence of Great Britain, and absolving themselves from all allegiance to George III. (26)

Breathing such an atmosphere, it is no wonder, that notwithstanding his family ties, Robert King presently joined the patriot forces. On April 19, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in the First Battalion of Northumberland County Associators (or patriot militia) under Colonel Samuel Hunter (27), another native of Donegal. This appointment was made by order of the Pennsylvania Assembly, of which John Morton was speaker. (28) The tide of battle had not then reached the Middle States, and this body of soldiery, apparently, was not called into active service. But before many months had passed, Congress authorized the Twelfth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line to be raised in Northampton and Northumberland counties. William Cook, delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, was selected as its colonel, on September 28th, and the Supreme Executive Council on October 4th appointed Hawkins Boone one of its captains, and Robert King one of its second lieutenants.

The greater portion of the regiment was recruited on the West Branch of the Susquehanna in that gloomy autumn. (29) On December 1st, the Committee of Safety

offered a bounty of ten dollars to each man in Northumberland County, who, on or before the eighteenth of that month, should march to join General Washington. (30) But this inducement does not seem to have been essential, as Colonel Cook, on the 2nd, reported to the Committee that his officers had been very successful in recruiting and most of his companies were nearly full. What kept him back was lack of "guns, cloaths, blankets, etc.," he said. $2,000.00 had been sent to him, but that fund had been completely exhausted and more was needed before he could obey the orders he had received to move on New Brunswick. (30 a) Whether he got the needed "cloaths" or not the Archives do not reveal. The country was then miserably poor in what Bagehot calls "disposable wealth." The coast towns had for some years been cut off from most of their sea-borne commerce, and the interior was too newly settled to have much to spare for the army. However, the worthy Colonel did get his regiment off in boats from Sunbury on the 18th, equipped or not equipped—the latter more likely. (31)

Washington's fortunes were then at their lowest ebb. His army had been beaten in the battle of Long Island and at Fort Washington, and he had been driven through the Jerseys to Pennsylvania. Almost in despair he wrote to his brother at this time: "If every nerve is not strained to recruit the army with all possible expedition, I think the game is nearly up." (31 a)

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman," wrote Thomas Paine on December 19, 1776, as the Twelfth Pennsylvania were floating down the Susquehanna, or disembarking on the Lancaster Road for their march to the Delaware. General Mifflin had then come back to Pennsylvania, and had gone as far West as Lancaster to arouse the citizens to a realization of their danger, and to hurry forward recruits to Washington's dwindling army. (31 b)

And then the tide turned. Washington took the offensive: crossed the Delaware on Christmas night, and in the Battle of Trenton captured whole regiments of Hes-

sians. Lord Cornwallis' arrival made his position perilous, although on the 29th Mifflin brought into New Jersey some 1500 Pennsylvania recruits (31 c), of whom, it may be presumed, the Twelfth Regiment formed a large part. On the second of January, Washington had his "raw levies" on one side of the Assanpink Creek, a hundred and fifty yards away from Cornwallis with his veterans. Back of the Americans ran the Delaware, full of floating ice, impossible to cross. "If ever there was a crisis in the affairs of the Revolution, this was the moment," said General Wilkinson. At dark, a council of war was held and the decision reached to turn the enemy's flank and attack the British garrison at Princeton. Washington ordered working-parties to intrench, the campfires to be redoubled and everything to be done to indicate his intention to defend that position to the last. Then the troops were silently withdrawn and by daybreak reached Princeton. (31 d) Wilkinson followed their course for miles by the bloodstained tracks which their half-shod feet left in the snow. (31 e) At dawn, General Mercer in the van encountered the British near Stony Brook Bridge, and to support him after the first onset, Washington, himself, led the Pennsylvania militia. Encouraged by the irresolution of these new levies, the British charged; but other regiments coming up, and the militia gaining confidence, the enemy halted and then fled, as the Americans in turn advanced on them. The British soon retreated full tilt to Brunswick, after making a show of defending Princeton. (32) It was here, the college tradition relates, as the American guns were battering the walls of Nassau Hall, that the portrait of George III was shot from its frame, never to be replaced. This was the last battle of the campaign of 1776—a triumphant ending of a chequered twelve-month, that earned Washington the ungrudging admiration of European critics, and crowned him with the title of the American Fabius and Camillus. (33) He now went into winter quarters on the Heights at Morristown, and no engagements of sufficient moment to warrant the attention of historians of the Revolution took place for several months.

The Twelfth Pennsylvania, with headquarters at the Five Cross Roads, near Metuchin, New Jersey, were de-

tailed under General Conway on picket and skirmish duty. General St. Clair, writing on February 10, 1777, said: "The enemy are still in Jersey, but they have little rest. We give them a brush every other day, and we are certain that they are in great want of forage and provisions." (33 a)

The Twelfth had its full share of this outpost work in the skirmishes of Bound Brook, Bonhamtown and particularly in the "bold enterprise" of Piscataway, where on May 10th Robert King received a wound in the skull—so painful that he remembered it for forty years. (34)

Piscataway is now a suburb of New Brunswick, which was the extreme point held by the British. At Bonhamtown, Raritan Landing, and Perth Amboy, they had posts supporting each other; while Washington's cantonments extended from the neighborhood of Metuchin (five miles inland from Perth Amboy) northwardly through Dismal Swamp, Chatham and Ash Swamp, some twenty miles to the Heights at Morristown. General Stephens on May 10th ordered some 800 Pennsylvanians, Virginians and Jerseymen to collect at the "quarters" of Col. Cook of the Twelfth, then about nine miles from Metuchin Meeting House. The Americans had learned the enemy's dinner hour and, after marching over Dismal Swamp, "gave them time to take a drink" (wrote a participant) and then made a sudden attack, "about half an hour after four," on the pickets of two regiments of Royal Highlanders. Stephens' advance guard engaged some 300 of the enemy, and after making a feint retreat over a narrow causeway, "turned suddenly and repulsed them with great slaughter." The British were then reinforced by six companies of light infantry and the 33rd Regiment of Foot. The skirmish became general—"was pretty warm for a time, and the enemy gave way," until a large body of their artillery from New Brunswick came into action. Stephens then fell back in good order to a hill where "they did not dare to pursue us."

"We had a number of good marksmen well posted in the woods and other suitable places and the enemy [were] in the open field frequently in confusion," wrote a Continental officer, accounting for the disparity in the losses of the contending forces. The American casualties were:

two killed; and one captain, three subalterns (including Lieutenant King), and eleven privates wounded; one subaltern and 23 privates, mostly wounded, made prisoners. The British Highlanders, "obstinately brave, were too proud to surrender, which cost them dear,"—Major McPherson, six officers and 60 privates were killed; Major Frazier, Captain Stewart and 120 privates were wounded. "This great advantage gained over the best troops of the enemy has compelled them," wrote an American, "to send from New York one battalion of Hessian Grenadiers, the 10th and 55th British Regiments to reinforce their posts." (34 a)

The Twelfth Pennsylvania suffered more than any other Continental unit—22 of its members were taken prisoner. One of them, Joseph McHarge, later escaped and returned to Northumberland, where he reported that he had been so badly treated while in captivity, that his eyesight had failed. On that account he was discharged in 1779 from the service by a Court of Quarter Sessions, his regiment having then ceased to exist. (34 b) Another private, Wendell Lorenz, made his escape at Piscataway by hiding among a flock of sheep, till the enemy had withdrawn. (34 c)

Skirmishes, such as this, in their aggregate effect did not lack importance. The markmanship of the frontier riflemen of the Twelfth and its sister regiments, if uniformly as effective as at Piscataway, must have produced a fine crop of casualties among General Howe's stragglers, foragers and outposts armed with muskets only. Galloway, the Tory, estimated that from this source alone the Royal Commander's losses were greater than he would have suffered in surrounding and defeating, or starving out Washington's main army in the Highlands of North Jersey. (35)

These losses, and Howe's inability to maneuver Washington from his strong defensive position, were weighty factors in altering the British plan of campaign. Their strategy aimed rather at taking Philadelphia, the capital of the Confederation, than at the destruction of the Continental Army. And so Howe consumed the summer of 1777 in executing the astonishing *coup de main* of moving his whole command by sea to the head of Chesapeake Bay. From his landing place, there, the distance to the Capital

was no less than from New Brunswick. But this line of march now lay through Chester County, whose almost unbroken surface (35a) afforded little natural protection to a commander defending, in that quarter, the approaches to the American metropolis. It was on this Southern route that the two armies met in the Battle of Brandywine September 11, 1777. And here General Howe was able to reap the advantage of his superior numbers.

In that battle the Twelfth Pennsylvania formed part of the American right commanded by General Sullivan. To meet Lord Cornwallis' flanking movement, "the Twelfth came on at double quick, as the cannon balls were ploughing up the ground, and the trees were cracking over their heads the branches riven by the artillery and the leaves falling as in autumn by grapeshot. They had scarcely time to obey the stentorian order of Colonel Cook, 'fall into line', when the British made their appearance. The Twelfth fired sure and fast, and many a Royal officer leaped forward in death after the sharp crack of their rifles. As the fight grew furious and the charge of gleaming bayonets came on, other troops, that had not had time to form, reeled before the burnished rows of steel. But the Twelfth stood firm, as Lieutenant Boyd fell dead before his captain. * * * The day ended in disaster to our arms, and the Twelfth quit the field nearly cut to pieces" (36).

At this juncture the Marquis de Lafayette, who had acted as a volunteer, while rallying the troops was wounded in the leg (37). His aide-de-camp, Gimat, helped him to mount a horse, and, "as General Washington arrived with reinforcements, Lafayette started to join him, when loss of blood compelled the young Frenchman to stop and have his wounds bandaged by Dr. Cochran, so that he barely escaped capture as the fleeing soldiers, the cannon and the army wagons were thrown back, pell mell, on the Chester Road" (38).

It is a legend, in the family of Robert King, whatever foundation the story may have, that their ancestor helped Lafayette off the field of battle. A great-grandson of the Lieutenant told this tale to the Marquis' grandson some forty years ago, adding that it was an honored tradition in

the American's family. The Frenchman hastened to reply, "I need not tell you, it is the same in our family." When the Marquis visited this country in 1825 he recognized King at a distance, and when he came up, threw his arms around the old man's neck and kissed him on both cheeks, saying, "How do you do, my venerable friend" (39).

After the defeat at Brandywine, Washington reformed his shattered forces, and in the following month fiercely attacked the outer lines of the British at Germantown. The Twelfth were among the leaders on the left wing of the American advance, and lost heavily in men. Later, the regiment endured the privations of the trying winter at Valley Forge. At the last general engagement fought against the British on Northern soil, the victory of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, the remnants of the organization were nearly destroyed (40). This was the end of the Twelfth as a fighting unit. The Assembly had previously directed that its surviving members should be incorporated in the Third Pennsylvania, and on July 1st, King and other officers were ordered to be transferred to that regiment (41). Before this he had been commissioned first lieutenant and that was his rank thereafter (42). But, almost at once, he and Captains Brady and Boone were detached from the Third by General Washington, and ordered to their homes on the Susquehanna to assist Colonel Hartley in the defense of the frontier (43).

The British plan of campaign in 1777-8 had three objects: First, an attack on Washington's army and Philadelphia; second, Burgoyne's attempt to sever New England from the other Colonies; and third, an onslaught on the American sources of food supply in central New York and Pennsylvania. The second failed, the first and third only partially succeeded. Major John Butler commanded the British Provincials, Tories and Indians, who carried death and destruction to the patriots of the Upper Susquehanna. That region had sent its able-bodied men to Washington's army, and its protection was left to old men and boys (44). In July, 1778, Major Butler's command, eight hundred strong, fell upon Wyoming Valley, near Wilkes-Barre, overcame its defenders and massacred all but five of those who were not killed in battle. The night after

their victory, the Indians built fires and formed circles around them and "ran amuck" among their prisoners, stripped stark naked; while on occasions a squaw, Queen Hester of Tioga, tomahawked her chosen victims. 227 scalps were taken in the fray and afterward paid for by the British at ten dollars apiece. A thousand houses, mills and forts were plundered and burned, and the surrounding country laid waste (45).

The news of the calamity spread like wildfire—down the North Branch, past Northumberland Town and up the West Branch, striking terror to every heart. Then ensued a wild, precipitate fight, known locally as "The Great Runaway." The whole frontier with one accord abandoned their homes. Covenhoven, the scout, describes the part of the Runaway that he saw:

"At Lewisburg I met the whole convoy from all the forts above. Such a sight I never saw in my life. Boats, canoes, hog-troughs, rafts hastily made of dry sticks, every sort of floating article, had been put in requisition and were crowded with women, children and plunder. * * * Whenever any obstruction occurred at shoal or ripple, the women would leap out into the water and put their shoulders to the boat or raft and launch it again into deep water. The men of the settlements came down in single file on each side of the river to guard the women and children. The whole convoy arrived safely at Sunbury, leaving the entire range of farms along the West Branch to the ravages of the Indians." (46)

The Commander at Sunbury, Colonel Hunter, wrote to the State authorities: "You may figure to yourselves men, women and children butchered and scalped, many of them after being promised quarter; people in crowds driven from their farms, most of whom have not money to purchase one day's provisions" (47).

Prothonotary William Maclay wrote: "I never saw such scenes of distress. The river and roads leading down to it were covered with men, women and children flying for their lives. In short, Northumberland County is broken up" (48).

It was to meet this situation that Colonel Hartley's command was ordered to the frontier. It reached Sunbury

on July 28th and established posts as far west as Lock Haven (49). Hartley planned a retaliatory expedition against the savages as the best means of preventing more inroads. He had some seven hundred men, all told, under his orders, but after leaving detachments to guard the several blockhouses of the district, less than two hundred remained for the expedition. Of this little army Robert King was assistant quartermaster (49a). It started on September 21st from Muncy and went up Lycoming Creek and across the mountains to Tioga (50). The troops carried two boxes of ammunition and twelve days' supplies.

They waded or swam the Lycoming twenty times. Hartley related that the difficulties in crossing the Alps could not have been greater than they encountered on these Appalachian ridges. An advance party met and defeated a band of the savages on the 26th and killed their chief. At the Indian town of Tioga they beheld the log "castle" of the notorious Queen Hester, and the huts where her tribe "dried and dressed the scalps of the helpless women and children who fell into their hands"—and applied the torch to the whole village. On the 28th they reached the North Branch and went down it to Wyalusing—the men "much worn, their whiskey and flour all gone." Here they stayed till they had killed and cooked some beef-cattle and laid hands on some canoes for their return trip. This delay enabled the Indians to bring down a war-party from their stronghold at Chemung, New York.

Hartley's forces went down the Susquehanna in three divisions, mostly afoot, but seventy of the weary veterans made use of the canoes they had picked up. Captain Sweeny was in command of the rear-guard and kept strict watch against surprise. The Indians attacked him. The infantry faced about ready for the encounter. Hartley observed a hillside commanding the Redmen's position and sent some of his men to occupy it, and others toward the enemy's rear. The doubtful point was whether his rear-guard would hold against the assault. At this critical moment the canoeists hove in sight, paddling rapidly up stream. "Captains Boone and Brady and Lieutenant King with a few brave fellows landed from their canoes, joined Sweeny and renewed the action there. The war-hoop was

given by our people below and communicated round. We advanced on every side with great shouting and noise. The Indians conceived themselves nearly surrounded and fled with the utmost haste by the only passes that remained" (51). So Hartley reported the action. The expedition arrived safely at Sunbury on October 5th after making a circuit of 300 miles in two weeks, having defeated the enemy, wherever met, destroyed his towns, and recovered much property of the whites (52).

The Supreme Council expressed its thanks to Colonel Hartley for this successful exploit, and requested him to transmit to his officers and men the Council's appreciation of their courage and zeal (53). The Colonel, writing from York on May 10, 1779, to General Hand commended Captain Boone and Lieutenant Robert King as "brave soldiers and good woodsmen" (54).

Hartley's force consisted of some two hundred regulars, and its effort to cover the far flung chain of blockhouses on the Northumberland frontier was not always successful. The case of "Fort" Freeland illustrates the weakness of these outposts. It was defended by only twenty-one men, and so poorly supplied with ammunition that when danger threatened, Phoebe Vincent and other women in the stockade had to melt their pewter spoons and plates into bullets. Robert King brought down word to this Fort before July 19, 1779, that Ferguson's party of haymakers on Lycoming Creek had lost three men in an Indian attack (54a). On the 20th three hundred British and Indians laid siege to the little stronghold. It soon capitulated (55). The Indians' leader, Hioketoo, who had married a Scotch-Irish lass, Mary Jemison, captured many years before, was unexpectedly merciful and allowed the women and children to depart unmolested for Northumberland Town, while the men were made prisoners. Next day Captains Hawkins Boone and Samuel Daugherty arrived with a relief of thirty men. They supposed that the fort still held out, and made a dash across Warrior's Run to reach it, but were at once surrounded by the savages and the two leaders and half their followers were killed (56). The remainder, among whom, from his constant association with Boone, it may be inferred, was King, escaped with

their lives.

General Sullivan's expedition to Central New York is rated as one of the great achievements of border warfare. It left Wyoming July 31, 1779, and after destroying many flourishing Iroquois villages and ripening cornfields, and making a round trip of 450 miles, without a wagon-road in its whole course, returned to its base October 7, 1779 (57). General Hand, to whom Hartley had in the previous May commended Lieutentant King, held a subordinate position under Sullivan in the campaign (57a), but it is not known whether King was of the expedition or not.

The Indian retaliation for this invasion was scattered, but effective. At many points attacks were made by them in 1780, 1781, and 1782 (58). The town of Northumberland was abandoned and not re-occupied till 1784 (59). The settlers north and west of the river left their habitations in the winter of 1779-80, and the history of this section of Northumberland County is a blank till 1784—the assessment-books for Bald Eagle, Potter and Muncy Townships in 1782 show that there were no inhabitants in those districts at all. In fact, Armagh Township, Cumberland County, became the new frontier (60). South of the river, the remaining inhabitants of the county met at Sunbury in 1782, and decided that there was nothing to do but seek safety from the Indians in flight (61). Many residents went beyond the Blue Mountains to the neighborhood of Carlisle in Cumberland County, among them Lieutenant John Boyd, formerly of the Twelfth (King's companion in arms). Boyd commanded the Frontier Rangers until his capture by the Indians in a foray on the Raystown Branch of the Juniata River (61a). King, likewise, took his family to Carlisle, where he, too, joined the Frontier Rangers—the service for which Washington had dispatched him and his ill-fated captain. And until the end of the war in 1783, he did duty on this force (61b).

His name appears as a taxable in West Pennsboro Township, Cumberland County, in the years 1780-1782 (62); and it was in or near Carlisle, in that county, that his son, Thomas, was born October 24, 1780 (63).

In 1784, peace being restored and the Indians quieted, he returned to his home in Northumberland Town, and

there his next child, Samuel, was born June 2, 1784 (64).

On July 1st of that year three hundred acres of land in the "Last Purchase" from the Indians were surveyed for him; and on February 22, 1785, an additional tract of four hundred acres (65). Then he seems to have started to clear one of these tracts, for his name is found in 1785 among the taxpayers residing in Bald Eagle Township, marked as a tenant of John Fleming (66), and in 1788 he is in Lower Bald Eagle Township, above the head of Great Island, at Parr's (67), and again in 1793 (68). In 1794 his name is set down as a warrantee of four hundred and two and one-half acres of land in the Last Purchase (59). While he was living on or near Great Island, a daughter, Elizabeth, was born April 19, 1788 (70).

It was in this neighborhood that the "Walker Tragedy" occurred, which was to alter the course of his life. The savages had killed and scalped John Walker in 1781. Nine years later, in the month of June, Walker's three sons met a couple of Seneca Indians at Stephenson's Tavern near the mouth of Pine Creek, where the Redmen got drunk. The older of the two threw himself on the floor of the inn, and went through some outlandish performances, making the most horrible grimaces and contorting his face in a sickening way. Then he got up and said to the Walkers: "*That* is the way your father acted when I scalped him." The Walkers were, naturally enough, outraged. But the presence of their neighbors kept them from resenting the affront then and there. The same evening, however, in company with a friend named Doyle, they tracked the Indians up the creek to their camp, murdered them in cold blood and sank their bodies in the stream, from which a freshet soon afterwards washed them ashore. Robert King lived hard by, and made information of the crime before a magistrate. Warrants were issued for the murderers; but the Walkers, forewarned, fled the country. Doyle was arrested. His trial caused great excitement among the frontiersmen. Crowds of his partisans, who justified the homicide, attended Court and threatened to rescue him if he were found guilty. Of course he was acquitted.

When the news of the killing of their fellow-warriors reached the Senecas beyond the mountains, they were

greatly incensed, and began to put on their war-paint, and get ready for a raid on the white settlers in Pine Creek valley (71). It was in some such way as this, that Indian "wars" often started; and the more cool-headed among the whites, who felt they had already suffered a-plenty from the depredations of the savages, made up their minds to put a stop to further hostilities. Some half hundred of the settlers, including Robert King, met at Great Isle on Independence Day, 1790, and drew up a petition to the State authorities. They told in it of their failure to arrest the Walkers and the fears of the neighborhood of Indian reprisals—fears so great, that for a score of miles round frontier families were then abandoning their homes. And they besought the Supreme Council to make a new treaty with the Senecas, and in the meantime to give them military protection.

President Mifflin of the Council was much exercised by the disturbance; he laid the matter before that body on July 9th, and they offered a reward of $800 for the arrest and conviction of the Walkers, and decided to make an earnest effort to conciliate the Senecas They ordered dispatches to be sent to the Indians expressing the Government's utter condemnation of the crime, and their fixed resolution to punish the guilty. And with these dispatches they sent a copy of the Proclamation offering the reward for the apprehension of the accused (72).

To carry these tidings through the wilderness to a tribe of savages roused to the point of fury by the murder of their kin, was a task fit for a "brave soldier and good woodsman." The Council had directed that a "trusty and intelligent man" should be engaged, says Mifflin. The choice fell on Robert King. And he, comments Mifflin, "Notwithstanding the obvious hazards, undertook the charge with cheerfulness and performed it with such alacrity, propriety and success, that he may be considered a Principal in preventing a war." (73)

King with his relatives, Captain Lee, (73-a) traveled over a hundred miles through the virgin forests to the Indian town of Canandaigua, which they reached on August 14th. Here King delivered Mifflin's dispatches to the chiefs of the nation, and made intercession with the famous Chief, Corn-

planter, to head off the threatened war party (74). In his pow-wow with the Sachems, tradition relates, he asserted that the whites were the true friends of the Indians; and when a chief asked to be informed when any of the Palefaces had ever done a kindness to a Redman, King arose and told how once, when he was out hunting, he had run across a young Seneca, lost and almost starved to death, and how he had divided his stock of food with him and guided him back to the Indian's camp. A messenger was sent to fetch in this young Indian; when he arrived, he at once recognized King as his deliverer; and then the warriors made great demonstrations of respect and goodwill, and acceded to the white men's plea for peace. (75) And King went back to Mifflin at Philadelphia bearing the wampum-belt of friendship and messages of amity. (75-a)

Some of his neighbors seem to have been more implacable than the Indians. Walkers' and Doyle's adherents and relatives were numerous, and their resentment was bitter against the prosecutor of the murderers and the preventer of Indian reprisals. Mifflin says (76) King's life was "menaced, and through the dread of assassination, after the loss of a crop, and the dispersion of his family", he was obliged to quit his home on Pine Creek.

When, however, the first General Assembly under the Constitution adopted in 1790, met in February, 1791, Mifflin, now become Governor, took occasion to call their attention to King's services and sufferings in the cause of peace and to recommend the propriety of remunerating him. (77) And accordingly an act was passed, "To Compensate Robert King" (3 Smith's Laws, p. I.): it was signed by William Bingham, first Speaker of the House, and by Richard Peters, first Speaker of the Senate, and approved by Governor Mifflin on March 21, 1791.

The statute tells briefly of King's actions, and directs the Governor to draw an order on the State Treasurer for one hundred and thirty-nine pounds, three shillings and ten pence, to be paid to King for his services from July 18th to October 3d, 1790. Then it empowers the Governor to grant a patent to King and his heirs forever for a tract of land situate in the Ninth District of Donation Lands, adjoining the South end of a tract reserved for the State on

the East branch of French Creek, the tract to contain 400 acres, and to be "granted in him clear of all expence."

The money grant, if regarded as compensation only for time spent, is equivalent to rate of nearly forty shillings a day. As the ordinary unskilled laborer was, in that age, considered well paid at two shillings a day (77-a), the State's appropriation meant, then, as much as an allowance of $60.00 per diem would now. The gift of the land evidenced the appreciation of the Commonwealth in being saved from an Indian War.

The Ninth District of Donation Lands lay along the Southern tier of townships in what is now Erie County. It was bounded to the North by the Triangle purchased from the United States in 1792 to give Pennsylvania access to a Lake Erie harbor. On the tract next King's, reserved for the State, Fort LeBoeuf was to be built and garrisoned with a small troop of soldiers, nearness to whom would afford the settlers some protection against the Indians and therefore add to the value of his lands.

Nor were the Senecas forgotten by the State. The Walkers had not been apprehended. And the State now gave the sum of money offered for their conviction—eight hundred dollars—to the tribe whose members the fugitives had slain. By the Act of February 1, 1791, that amount was granted to Cornplanter, Halftown and Big Tree, their chiefs, in trust for the Seneca nation, and these Sachems, a week later, left Philadelphia, expressing their satisfaction with the Government's liberality. (78)

It was not till four years had passed, however, that the Governor had occasion to complete the grant to King. For the grantee had to have his tract surveyed before the patent could issue. And as the United States were at war with the Ohio Indians, and the Erie lands lay close to the scenes of their activity, white settlements in that country were taboo. General St. Clair's defeat—a disaster second only to Braddock's—on November 4, 1791, checked all plans for migration. (79) The Supreme Court judicially ruled that it was totally unsafe to move families west of the Allegheny River until the year 1796. (80) But General Wayne's great victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794 cleared the way for the pioneer; and on March 4, 1795, King re-

ceived from Mifflin's hands the State's patent for four hundred and seventeen acres of land in what is now Le Boeuf Township, Erie County—which was duly enrolled in Patent Book No. 17 page 382 in the Rolls Office of the Commonwealth.

Before this he had made all his preparations for departure, first selling the Northumberland lands he held to George Eddy on March 24, 1794 (81): then, to have a survey made of his land-grant he set off in the summer of 1794 on a three hundred mile trek through the woodlands of the Northwest. His journey started near Lock Haven, and ran for half its course along the line afterward appropriated by the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad—up the Susquehanna to the Sinnemahoning, up that creek and the Driftwood Branch, over the Indian trails a few score of miles across the foothills of the Alleghany Mountains to the Ohio watershed. Sometimes, at his camps, his surveying habits would assert themselves, and with a marking-iron he would cut his name and the date of his encampment on beechtrees. While making the first exploratory survey for the railroad, forty-four years later to the day, his grandson (who wrote an account of this journey) (82) on July 17, 1838, found, near the town of Sheffield, Warren County, one of these blazes—"Robert King, July 17, 1794." At this camp the voyageur made a canoe out of a pinetree, and in it he and his "attendant man" paddled down the Tionesta River to the Allegheny, up that stream to French Creek, and then up it to a point afterwards known as "King's Bridge," a short distance South of the present Borough of Waterford, Erie County. From there he went over the French Road to Fort Presque Isle, now the City of Erie, and found the Deputy Surveyor, Thomas Rees, in a tent, with a squad of soldiers to guard him against the Indians. With Rees' instruments, King himself made his survey, marking the lines by blazing the trees, and having plotted his grant, back he went to Northumberland County, this time varying his route by going down the Allegheny, up the Kiskiminetas (where, in August, 1794, he again left his autograph on a beech tree) and over the Hollidaysburg Portage. His patent granted according to survey, in March, 1795, he moved West

again with wife and children by the Kiskiminetas route and arrived at Fort Le Boeuf May 15, 1795, escaping all the dangers which (as the Court afterwards found) then rendered settlements unsafe. Here, on his own land, he built a log cabin, generally believed to have been the first permanent home of a settler in Erie County. Here he was soon joined by Amos Judson and others, and here in 1797 came John Wilson, formerly of Newtownards, near Belfast, Ireland, whose daughter, Sarah, in the year 1800 married Thomas, son of Lieutenant King. (83)

In that year King dated his letter to Judge Huston from "King's Garden, to be put in the post-office at Pittsburgh." He seems to have been fairly prosperous. Waterford became a busy place. Salt was then carted over the land portage from Erie, and near King's Bridge loaded on bateaux and floated down French Creek and the Allegheny to Pittsburgh. Before 1820 salt wells were opened on the Kiskiminetas, and this trade fell off and Waterford's decline set in. (84)

King sold 60 acres of his land grant to John Simpson in 1814 for $150; 82 acres to his son, Samuel, the same year, and in the following year 40 acres to his son, Thomas. In 1817 he and his wife conveyed 86 acres to their son, John, in consideration of an annual payment of $50 during the lives of the parents. (85)

On April 18, 1818, he appeared before Judge Moore of the Common Pleas Court at Erie and made affidavit to his application to the Federal Government for a pension, reciting his services in the Twelfth and under Col. Hartley. The application was granted, and he is listed as a pensioner in 1820 and 1825 (86), and a pension was paid to his widow, Elizabeth, till her death in 1840.

A leaf of his daybook is now in the possession of a greatgranddaughter. The entries in it seem to be principally of transactions with his sons and son-in-law. They illustrate the range of prices a century ago.

On March 4th, 1820, Peter Ford, a son-in-law is given credit "by 1½ bushel of oats_____47c
"George W. King to one gallon of Whiskey__75c
and half pound tea_____87½c
Robert King, Jr., to one pair of shoes_____$2.50

Brown, farmer, to use of my canoe_____25c
3 July, 1820, "George W. King cr. at a settlement in full of all acc'ts that stand charged against him in this book twenty-four Dollars and ninety-six cents_____$24.96

Robert King."

He died in 1826 and was buried on his own land. The tombstone that for many years stood over his grave designated him as "Captain." There is no evidence that he ever held such a commission. But doubtless he was often addressed by that title, like other leaders in the new settlements, and so he is commonly spoken of by his descendants.

No better epitaph could be found for his final resting place than the commendation of his colonel:

"Robert King
Brave Soldier and Good Woodsman". (87)

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(11) History of the West Branch, p. 43.
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(17) Buffalo Valley, p. 42.
(18) Buffalo Valley, p. 44.
(19) Buffalo Valley, p. 51..
(20) Warren's History of Cumberland County, pp. 28-29.
(21) Bell's History of Northumberland County, p. 519.
(21a) Deed Book "H" page 338 Northumberland County.
(22) Bell's History of Northumberland County, pp. 88, 89, 95.
(23) M. J. O'Brien's Hidden Phase of American History, p. 135. This writer has figured the percentage of Irishmen in that army at 35.83 per cent.
(24) Jenkins' Penna. C. & F. Vol. II, p. 28.
(25) When the State Courts assumed a jurisdiction over this district many years later, Chief Justice McKean inquired about the Fair

Play system from an old Irishman, Peter Rodney, who answered, "All I can say is, that since your Honor's Courts have come among us, fair play has ceased." Meginness History of Lycoming County, p. 205.

(26) History of the West Branch, p. 192. Frontier Forts, Vol. I, p. 407.
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(28) Pension Application.
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(34c) Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. X, p. 757.
(35) S. G. Fisher's True History of the American Revolution p. 328.
(35a) Egle's History of Penna. Chester County, p. 523.
(36) J. B. Linn in Notes & Queries, Vol. II, p. 129.
(37) Winsor as above, p. 381.
(38) Lafayette-Sparks Mss., transcribed through the courtesy of W. C. Lane, Harvard Librarian, June 27, 1921.
(39) Letter of Wilson King, Jr., May 5, 1921.
(40) Penna. Archives as above.
(41) Do.
(42) Do.
(43) Do.
(44) Winsor as above, p. 634.
(45) Jenkin's Penna. Col. & Fed., Vol. II, p. 65.
(46) Linn's Buffalo Valley, p. 217.
(47) Meginness' West Branch, p. 217.
(48) Buffalo Valley, p. 155.
(49) Bell's Northumberland, p. 124.
(49a) Pension Application.
(50) Shimmell's Border Warfare in Penna. p. 99.
(51) Bell as above, p. 124.
(52) Do.
(53) Colonial Records, Vol. VII, p. 640.
(54) Penna. Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. XI, p. 453.
(54a) Egle's History of Penna, p. 1001.
(55) Buffalo Valley, p. 177.
(56) Frontier Forts of Penna., Vol. I, pp. 381-5.
(57) Winsor, as above, pp. 639, 643.
(57a) Jenkins, as above, Vol. II, p. 69.
(58) Shimmell, as above, pp. 118, 131, 139.
(59) Bell as above, p. 518.
(60) Linn's Centre County, pp. 20, 21.
(61) Shimmell as above, p. 139.

(61a) Bell, as above p. 519.
(61b) Penna Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. XXIII, p. 260.
(62) Do. Vol. XX, pp. 375, 406, 540.
(63) Family Bible.
(64) Do.
(65) Penna. Archives, 3rd Series, Vol. XXV, pp. 202, 203.
(66) Linn's Centre County, p. 478.
(67) Do. p. 479.
(68) Do. p. 480.
(69) Penna. Archives, 3rd Series, Vol. XXVI, p. 762.
(70) Family Bible.
(71) Meginness' West Branch, p. 361.
(72) Meginness' Lycoming County, p. 208.
(73) Penna. Archives, 4th Series, Vol. IV, p. 165.
(73a) Letter Wilson King, Sr., Apr. 7, 1875.
(74) Meginness' Lycoming County, p. 209.
(75) Letter Wilson King, Sr., Apr. 7, 1875.
(75a) Meginness' West Branch, p. 201.
(76) Penna. Archives as last above.
(77) Do.
(77a) McMasters' United States, Vol. I, p. 96.
(78) Penna. Archives as last above.
(79) Note to 2 Smith's Laws, p. 205.
(80) Scott vs. Anderson in above note.
(81) Northumberland County Deed Book "I" pp. 321, 322.
(82) Letter Wilson King, Sr., Apr. 7, 1875.
(83) This John Wilson was a son of Hans Wilson who was the son of Nathaniel Wilson, all of Ireland, where the family had lived since the reign of Charles I. They were no kin to one, Woodrow Wilson, whose family came from Carlisle, England. An unusual story is told of John Wilson's wife's family: In the 17th century a certain William Warnick and Jane, his wife, at a watering place met another William Warnick and Jane, his wife, no known relatives of the first couple. Together they agreed that, if they had children, one a son, the other a daughter. the parents would bring them together; and so in time it happened that their children, William Warnick, Jr., and Jane Warnick, Jr., married. They had a daughter Elizabeth who married Hugh Bailey (an Englishman) and they had a daughter Elizabeth, born in 1740, who married John Wilson and was the mother of Sarah Wilson, who married Thomas King, and was the mother of Josiah, Wilson, and Alfred King and others. Papers of Mrs. Charles Himrod and the two Wilson Kings.
(84) Sherman Day's Historical Collections, p. 327.
(85) Erie County Deed Book "B" p. 602 and "D" pp. 582, 342, and "B" p. 696.
(86) Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd Series, Vol. XV, pp. 696 and 725.
(87) Considerable confusion has arisen because of the existence of another Robert King, a native of Ireland, a resident of Northumberland County and a Revolutionary soldier. "John of Lancaster" writing in "Notes and Queries" (Harrisburg) 4th Series, Vol. I. p. 179, asserts that this other Robert King—here termed the "Lycoming King"—was on Hartley's expedition and died in Lycoming County aged 90. This is incorrect, although W. H. Egle, in speaking of the 12th Regiment Lieutenant Robert King, repeats this error. This Lycoming King, was

the grandfather of the wife of J. F. Meginness, the local historian so often cited above (see his History of Lycoming County, p. 1153), and whose son lived with Meginness when the latter wrote; the Lycoming King's grandson, Robert King Jr., was the subject of a biographical sketch in one of those histories. The historian of the West Branch makes no claim that his wife's grandfather held a commission in the 12th or any other regiment or took part in Hartley's expedition. Meginness, too, carefully omits the name of the "express" he records as having been sent by Mifflin to the Senecas in 1790, although his account of the Walker Tragedy is otherwise full. Doubtless, the Lycoming King was the co-hero with Covenhoven of the curious Indian capture (related in Sherman Day's Historical Collection p. 455) of the fruits of which, says Covenhoven, "the two poor provincials were cheated by the Continential officers" on their arrival at Sunbury. One of these officers was the Erie Robert King, as the Pension Application and Col. Hartley's report show.

This Lycoming King was assessed in Mahanoy and Lycoming Township, Northumberland County, in 1785-1786 (Archives 3rd, Series Vol. XIX, pp. 635, 680, 710 and 788) while at the same time the Erie King was assessed in Point (including the town of Northumberland) and Bald Eagle Townships, same county, (ditto pp. 468, 758).

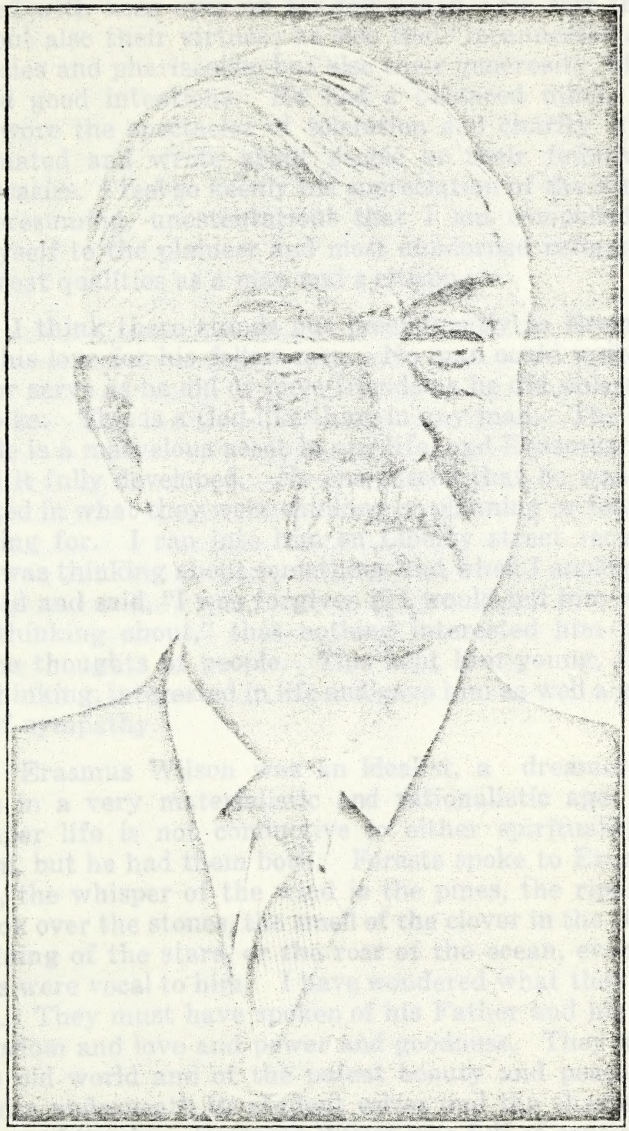
The Pension Application and Family Bible entries giving the birthplaces of his several children should remove all doubt as to the matter of identity.

DEATH OF THE "QUIET OBSERVER"

Erasmus Wilson, known to several generations of newspaper readers as the "Quiet Observer" is dead. The end came on January 14, 1922, and the accounts of his life and death which appeared in the daily newspapers, were read by thousands of his friends and admirers, as well as by the members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, of which he was a Director, with mournful interest. On January 17th the funeral service was held in the First Presbyterian Church of this city, and before a vast assemblage gathered there the pastor, Rev. Dr. Maitland Alexander, preached the funeral service which was a remarkabl discourse and is printed herewith.

Dr. Alexander spoke as follows:

There are many ways of leaving an impress on that part of the history of a city in which we are permitted to live. An impress is left by one who may have the genius of government, or the secret of a splendid philanthropy, or the power of a well administered wealth or that rarer ability, to make a lasting impression by character, optimism, kindliness, and the bestowal of loyal friendship to those who sought it. Such an impression has been left on this community by Erasmus Wilson. He went in and out among us and lived the simple quiet life of a gentleman of the Old School. He gathered, during the long years of his life here, hosts of friends, but his voice was never raised in anger, his pen was never dipped in unkindness, his hand was never withheld from those who needed it. As he passes out from us, though perhaps we did not realize it, he has left an impression which those of his day will not soon forget. It is not important for us to review the details of the life of Erasmus Wilson or to follow him through all its long years. The farm, that home of so many great men, knew him. Who knows but that as David's, greatness began as he cared for his sheep on the plains of Bethlehem, so Erasmus Wilson may have gotten some of his depths of insight and idealism from his early farmer days. The army, that school of mighty men, knew him, and we may perhaps find the secret of his rugged strength in the discipline of war. For 50 years he lived among journalists and newspaper men and in that 50 years



Erasmus Wilson
The "Quiet Observer"

he looked with keen eyes on his fellowmen. He saw their faults, but also their virtues; he saw their meannesses and hypocracies and phariseeism but also their generosity, kindness and good intentions. He had a balanced mind, but always wore the spectacles of toleration and charity when he estimated and wrote about people or their foibles or idiosyncrasies. I feel so keenly his appreciation of the simple life unpresuming, unostentatious that I am compelled to limit myself to the plainest and most unadorned references to his great qualities as a man and a citizen.

1. I think there stands out preeminently in Erasmus Wilson his love for his fellow-men. No man could write as he did or serve as he did or have friends as he did unless he loved folks. This is a God-like thing in any man. The love of people is a marvelous asset in any life, and Erasmus Wilson had it fully developed. No one passed that he was not interested in what they were thinking or planning or fearing or longing for. I ran into him on Liberty street recently when I was thinking about something, and when I apologized he smiled and said, "I was forgiven if I would tell him what I was thinking about," that nothing interested him more than the thoughts of people. This kept him young, fresh in his thinking, interested in life and gave him as well a great heart of sympathy.

2. Erasmus Wilson was an idealist, a dreamer of dreams in a very materialistic and rationalistic age. A newspaper life is not conductive to either spirituality or idealism, but he had them both. Forests spoke to Erasmus Wilson, the whisper of the wind in the pines, the ripple of the brook over the stones, the smell of the clover in the fields, the shining of the stars, or the roar of the ocean, even the silences were vocal to him. I have wondered what they said to him. They must have spoken of his Father and his care and wisdom and love and power and goodness. They spoke of this old world and of the patent beauty and peace and fragrance underneath its student voices and the shame and grimness of its sin. Erasmus Wilson was full of sentiment, not the maudlin cheap variety, but a sentiment which is the natural product of a man with a big heart.

To me, one of the most interesting and helpful things

in our friend's life, and which gave his writings the widest popularity, was his ability to take men back to the scenes of their early life, before the dew was off their early days and before they became jaded and cynical and toilworn. Before they crowded into cities and were contaminated by the city's life. A few lines from his pen and the old farm appeared—the well, the orchard, the garden, the chickens and cows, the figure in the sunbonnet, the old mare and the yellow corn, watermelons—and to thousands the cares of the city life dropped off and they were boys again. So to many his writings became an oasis in the wilderness, a spring in the desert at which they drank and renewed their youth.

I should never call Erasmus Wilson a philospher. He lived on faith too much for that. Faith in God and faith in man. If I should give him a name it would be that of a doctor of the soul, who with skillful hands and kindly pen made life easier, and God nearer and career higher, and hopes more beautiful. A man has to live in something else besides a philosophical atmosphere to be what he was.

It is a sad thing when young life is cut off in its prime. It is a glorious thing when a man reaches 80 years with the harvest of splendid life gathered, and a clear conscience, and a host of friends to bid farewell as he pushes out on the ebbing tide into the ocean of a boundless eternity.

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pensylvania

225—Sword

presented to William Bruce Clarke by a Union General upon the field of Gettysburg, it was captured and taken personally from a Confederate officer and had evidently been recently used, as the blade was bloody at the time Mr. Clarke received it. The blood stains still show at the end of the blade.

William Bruce Clarke was with Governor Curtin, the first civilian on the field of Gettysburg and after the battle, he took wine and lint from his own home for the wounded, as the surgical wagons had not arrived. (The wine, also the lint, was made by Mrs. Clarke).

226—Bullets

from the battle-field around Vicksburg.

227—Indian Head Piece

taken from the body of an Indian chief by Joseph T. Boyd, a private in the Union army, after a battle in Missouri, during the war of the Rebellion. It was given to William Bruce Clarke by Mr. Boyd.

228—Piece of Wood

taken from the tree under which the treaty between General Grant and General Pemberton was made at Vicksburg.

229—Book

of Indian drawings found by Joseph Boyd in the pocket of an Indian chief, after a battle with Indians during the Rebellion in 1862, and sent to William Bruce Clarke.

230—Old Andirons

or "Fire Dogs" were found in General Washington's headquarters on the battlefield of Brandywine, Chester County, Pennsylvania, together with Revolutionary cartridge boxes. They had remained in an attic closet under the eaves of the roof.

231—Canteen

Used during the Revolution.

232—Powder Horn

used during the Revolution.

233—Frame 6½ x 8 inches

containing the "Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.

234—Deed

made the 20th day of February in the year of our Lord, 1829 between John Arthurs, John B. Warden and Ann his wife, of the city of Pittsburgh, County of Allegheny and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

235—Warrant of Sale

of twenty-five acres of land and adjoining land in Moon Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, to Noah Potts, signed by Thomas Mifflin, Governor, Daniel Brodhead, Surveyor. Date April, 1792.

Property of William Bruce Clarke, Attorney.

236—Wooden Hatchet

made from a piece of cherry-tree which was in General Washington's garden at Mount Vernon. (The tree is supposed to be a lineal descendant of the tree "George cut down with his little hatchet").

237—Gavel

made from a piece of hickory-tree which stood in the deer-park in front of the mansion at Mount Vernon.

238—Miniature Scales

used during the Revolution.

239—Plan

of the building, "Great Exhibition" Pittsburgh, Pa. 1851.

240—Volume

"The Navigator", containing directions for navigating, The Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; with ample account of these much admired waters, from the head of the former to the mouth of the latter, and a concise description of their towns, villages, harbors, and settlements, with maps of the Ohio and Mississippi, to which is added an Appendix, containing an account of Louisiana, and of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, as discovered by the voyage under Capt's Lewis and Clark.

Printed and Published by Cramer & Spear,
Franklin Head, Wood Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1821.

241—Cane

of cherry-wood with a small photograph of President William Henry Harrison, and "T I P & T Y" cut in the handle. (Used as the Harrison and Tyler campaign cane in 1840.)

242—Indian Purse.

243—Indian Bead Work.

244—Pair Straw Indian Moccasins.

Presented by Mrs. J. R. Lloyd and James C. Clow, Esq.

245—Photograph

of William Hunter, D. D., serving four terms, at different periods between 1836 and 1876, as editor of the Pittsburgh *Christian Advocate,* and from 1855 to 1870 Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Literature at Allegheny College, Meadville, Penn'a.

Presented by Stephen Quinon, Comfort, Texas.

246—Almanacs

The Franklin Almanac for the year 1821,
By John Ward, Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Langstroth & M'Dowell's Almanack, for the year 1825,
Calculated by Joshua Sharp, Philadelphia, Penn'a.
The Farmer's Almanac, for the year 1832,
Calculated by John Ward, Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Poor Wills Almanac, for the year 1837,
Calculated by William Collom, Philadelphia, Penn'a.

Presented by Herbert DuPuy, Esq.

Volumes Presented to the Society.

"Centennial Volume of the First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1784—1884."

Presented by Mrs. William Thaw.

"A Machine Gunner's Notes," France 1918. By Lieutenant Colonel Charles M. DuPuy, U. S. Infantry, R. C.

Presented by Herbert DuPuy.

"Artemas Ward" (The first Commander-In-Chief of the American Revolution.) By Charles Martyn.

Presented by J. B. Johnston.

"The Old Path" Some Day-Dreams and Some Familiar Realities, by Harrison D. Mason.

Presented by Harrison D. Mason.

"Midshipman to Congress," By Hon. John B. Robinson.

Presented by Major L. K. Howell.

"A History of Old-Pine-Street, (Being the record of an hundred and forty years in the life of a Colonial Church." By Hughes Oliphant Gibbons.

Presented by John S. Ritenour.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Historical Documents Formerly the Property of H. C. Buhoup.

Colonel Oliver S. Hershman has sent to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, a number of letters and historical documents received from his uncle, H. C. Buhoup, formerly of Pittsburgh, but for many years a resident of Chicago. Two of these papers are printed herewith.

Record of a Conviction and Punishment for Horse Stealing in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1785.

Pennsylvania	July Sessions 704.
v.	Indictment, Felony in Stealing one Bay Mare
Thomas McCollam	the property of William Bull—Returned a true Bill.

Prisoner being arraigned pleads guilty in manner and form as he stands Indicted.

Judgment that Thomas McCollam be taken to the common whipping Post on Saturday the twenty-fourth Instant between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock A. M.; that he stand in the Pillory one hour, have both his ears cut off and nailed to the Pillory and there receive thirty nine lashes on his Bare back well laid on, restore the mare stolen to the owner if not already done or the value thereof, the like value thereof (viz twenty pounds) to the President of the State for support of Government pay costs of Prosecution and stand committed until the whole be complied with.

By the Court.

Cumberland County ss

	I do hereby certify that the above is a true copy
Quarter	compared with the original record remaining in
Sessions	my office and that the above Judgment of Court
of	hath been fully executed. In Testimony whereof
Cumberland	I have hereto set my hand and affixed the seal of
County	the Court aforesaid the 5th Day of July, A. D.,
	1785.

John Agnew, Clk.

LETTER OF EPHRIAM DOUGLASS, PROTHONOTARY OF FAYETTE COUNTY, TO JOHN DICKENSON, PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Union Town 2nd February 1784.

Sir:—The recollection of the personal obligation for which I feel myself indebted to your Excellency's benificence would alone be suf-

ficient to inspire me with the desire of giving every testimony of grateful recognition:—and when to that is added the obligation of public duty I will confidently hope your pardon for this trouble, even if my communication should appear unimportant.

The Courts were opened for this County on the 23d of December last. The gathering of people was pretty numerous, and I was not alone in fearing that we should have had frequent proofs of that turbulence of spirit with which they have been so generally, and perhaps too justly stigmatized, but I now take great satisfaction in doing them the justice to say that they behaved to a man with good order and decency; our grand jury was really respectable—equal at least to many I have seen in Courts of long standing. Little business was done other than dividing the County into Townships, a Return of which is under cover: And here I must beg the indulgence of your Excellency and Council if from the novelty of the business and the want of a precedent I have been deficient in form.

The instructions of Council respecting the opposition to assessment in Manallin Township I laid before the Justices as directed, but they have not yet come to any resolution thereon; some of them I find are of opinion that the reviving it at this distant time might be attended with more vexatious consequences than the suffering it to be forgotten will probably produce: For this reason, and in consideration of their since peacable demeanor, I should incline to agree with them that for the present, until the authority of the Court becomes by degrees and habitude of obedience, more firmly established in the general acquiesence of all descriptions of people within the County, and a Goal and other objects of popular terror be erected to impress on their minds an idea of the punishment annexed to a breach of the laws, lenient measures might produce as good effects as the most vigorous ones that justice could adopt, were not the wisdom and directions of Council opposed to this opinion. To these reasons for declining the prosecution of the offenders if their identity could be made appear, which I think very doubtful, might be added others that I am distressed to be obliged to take notice of; the Tax not having been assessed till after the division of the County, the authority of the Commissioners of Westmoreland then became justly questionable and the total want of Commissioners in this County to levy a Tax of any kind either for the State or to answer the exigencies of the County, and the consequent inability of the trustees to perform the duties assigned them by the Legislature, may all be subjects of consideration in this case: For from an unhappy misconception of the law for dividing Westmoreland, this County has not an officer of any kind except such as were created or continued by the Act, or appointed by Council. Denied a separate election of a member in Council and representative in Assembly till the general

election of the present year, they unfortunately concluded that this inability extended to all the other elective officers of the County, and in consequence of this belief voted for them in conjunction with Westmoreland. The remedy of this evil I fear is not easily pointed out; but if there be a possible one it is to be found in the wisdom of Council, to which I beg leave, as I shall in all other difficulties, to make my humble appeal.

The Trustees have appointed next Monday to meet on, and begin the partition line between this County and Westmoreland on this condition which Colonel Maclean who is to be executive person, has generously agreed to—to pay the expence at some future time when it shall be in their power to call upon the County Commissioners for the money. And necessity has suggested to us the expedient of building a temporary Goal by subscription which is now on foot.

Not knowing the necessity of an application to Council for Tavern Licenses before I left the City, I am now obliged to trouble them with a request that they will favor me with some by the first convenient opportunity.

Suffer me now worthy Sir, to step for a moment from the line of my duty. The honor which Council have heretofore done me by questioning me on the subject of Indian affairs will I hope acquit me of the charge of presumption, if from an opinion of their confidence in my information I venture to intermeddle without their command and give them such informations as have come to my knowledge from the accounts of others since I left the Canadian country.

Early in the fall Sir John Johnson assembled the different western tribes at Sandusky, and having prepared them with presents, distributed with lavish profusion addressed them in a speech to this purpose.

That the King, his and their common father, had made peace with the Americans, and had given them the country they possessed on this continent; but that the report of his having given them any part of the Indians' land, was false, and fabricated by the Americans for the purpose of provoking the Indians against their father,—that they should therefore shut their ears against it: So far the contrary was true, that the great river Ohio was to be the line between the Indians in this quarter and the Americans; over which the latter ought not to pass and return in safety. That however, as the war between Britain and America was now at an end, and as the Indians had engaged in it from their attachment to the crown, and not from any quarrel of their own, he would as was usual at the end of a war, take the Tomahawk out of their hand; though he would not remove it out of sight or far from them; but lay it down carefully by their side, that they might have it convenient to use in defence of their rights

and property if they were invaded or molested by the Americans.

I shall not presume to trouble your Excellency with any remarks on the probable tendency of an intimation so manifestly correspondent with the sentiments, wishes and interest of these savage tribes already alarmed with the frequent attempts which have been made to encroach upon them; but beg leave to have the honor of declaring that I am, with all immaginable respect,

your Excellency's
very humble and
most obedient servant
Ephriam Douglass

February 6th in continuance

Want of an earlier conveyance gives me the opportunity of enclosing to Council the return of an election held here this day for Justices of the peace for this town and township; and I trust the importance of the choice of officers to the county will excuse me to that honorable body for offering my remarks on this occasion.

Colonel Maclean, though not the first on the return needs no character from me,—he has the honor to be known to Council. James Finley is a man of a good understanding, good character, and well situate to accommodate that part of the township most remote from the town. Henry Beeson is the proprietor of the town a man of much honesty, good sense and great benevolence of heart, and one whose liability of property for public uses justly entitles him to particular attention from the county, however far it may be a consideration with Council. Jonathan Rowland is also a good man with a good share of understanding and a better English education than either of the two last mentioned; but unfortunately of a profession rather too much opposed to the suppression of vice and immorality: he keeps a tavern in the town. John Gaddis is a man whom I do not personally know,—one who has at a former election in the then township of Manallin, been returned to Council, but never commissioned, from what reason I know not; his popularity is with those who have been most conspicuous for their opposition to the laws of this Commonwealth. Moses Sutton is remarkable for nothing but aspiring obscurity, and great facility at chanting a psalm or stammering a prayer.

Duty thus directs me to give Council an impartial description of the men who are to be the future officers of this County,—but both duty and respect forbid my saying more, or presuming to express a wish of my own; for I have no predilection for one, or personal prejudice against either of them.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully
your Excellency's
very humble and
most obedient servant
Ephriam Douglass

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 5 No. 3 JULY, 1922 Price 75 cents

EARLY COURTS, JUDGES, AND LAWYERS OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

By HON. A. B. REID*

A passing glance at some of the facts, incidents, and characters of the early period of our Western Pennsylvania history is all that can be expected in a paper of this kind.

In preparing it, I cannot claim original research,—the delving into ancient manuscripts and records (save in a few instances), but like many other "Historians" of all times and ages, I have culled my material from the works of more laborous and erudite predecessors.

For those whose taste directs them into the pleasant field of study of the chronicles of the "Good Old Days," there is no more absorbing subject than that of the Provincial, Colonial, and early post-Revolutionary period of our Pennsylvania history, and especially of that relating to our own section of the state, which, for a long time, was the outpost of Empire and almost the last portion of the original Colonies to know and feel the influence of the Pioneer, the Indian Trader and Fighter, the intrepid hunter and woodsman, or

*Read before the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society on Tuesday, January 31, 1922.

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the hardy navigator of the western waters, who set out from Pittsburgh to carve out that greater empire which touches the Pacific.

We must, however, confine ourselves to the story of the old time Courts, Judges, and Lawyers who did so much to make history in our great county, which Lincoln called "The State of Allegheny."

The first Pennsylvania Court having jurisdiction over the settlers in this region was convened at Bedford on April 16, 1771, this being a part of Bedford County. It was there that the first Judges of that Court, George Wilson, William Crawford, Thomas Gist, and Dorsey Pentecost (who were justice of the peace and not Judges learned in the law) established the Township of Pitt, which embraced the greater part of what is now Allegheny and portions of Beaver, Washington, and Westmoreland counties,—having Fort Pitt within its boundaries. This township then included within its enormous limits fifty-two land-owners, twenty tenants, and thirteen single freemen!

The hardy and aggressive settlers on this side of the Alleghanies soon convinced the authorities that the great distance, inconveniences, and hardships of a trip to the seat of justice at Bedford required a county organization and a Court nearer their homes, and as a consequence Westmoreland County was erected February 26, 1773, out of Bedford's territory.

There seems in those far distant days to have been a certain affinity between the Courts and the taverns,—because Westmoreland's first Court was held in Robert Hanna's tavern, and, as will be hereafter noted, Allegheny County's tribunal sat in the hospitable third story of William Irwin's house of entertainment and tarried for a time in John Reed's "Sign of the Waggon." But this is a digression.

Five trustees were named to locate the county seat and erect buildings for the new county of Westmoreland. Robert Hanna and Joseph Erwin were among them, as was also Arthur St. Clair. Hanna rented his loghouse to Erwin, to be kept as a tavern, and got a majority of the board to recommend his place, which was done against the protest of St. Clair and a minority, who advocated Fort Pitt as the county seat. The new seat of justice was christened

Hannastown, a few rough log cabins quickly sprang up, and here, in 1773, the first court west of the Alleghanies was held under Pennsylvania jurisdiction, by William Crawford, one of the justices who sat in the first Court at Bedford.

Though remote and primitive, Hannastown was promptly equipped with a jail, a whipping post, stocks, and a pillory. Here, too, was heard the first murder trial that was held in this western country,—that of an Indian tried for killing a white man. Chief Justice McKean presided, and the prisoner was defended by Hugh H. Brackenridge, who was afterwards among the first lawyers admitted to the Bar of this county, and one of the most famous.

In the Hannastown log courthouse, one small room had to suffice for the parties, witnesses, jurors and spectators, who stood, the only seats, which were rough hickory chairs, being occupied by the judges, and were placed on a rude platform made of clap-boards.

Arthur St. Clair was the first Prothonotary of Westmoreland County.

The Indians attacked and burned Hannastown in 1782, and, as a result, the county seat was removed a few miles distant to its present site, Greensburg.

Until the organization of Allegheny County, suitors from Pittsburgh and vicinity were obliged to travel either to Hannastown or Greensburg,—the first Court in the new location being held at the latter place in January, 1787.

Although the first Court under Pennsylvania jurisdiction that was held west of the Alleghanies, sat at Hannastown, the first which sat within the present limits of our county was held at Pittsburgh under the jurisdiction of Virginia, which claimed this territory, and whose Governor, Lord Dunmore, renamed Fort Pitt "Fort Dunmore." Here, the Court of the West Augusta District sat in February, 1775, the last sessions being held in November of that year. Lord Dunmore's tribunal was equipped, if not with a pillory and stock, at any event with a "ducking stool," which was placed at the "Point." Upon the formation of Virginia, among others, from this debatable ground, of the County of Yohogania, in which Pittsburgh was situated, the seat of Justice was removed from Fort Dunmore to a new site up the Monongahela River, where a courthouse and jail were

erected, but whether the noble Earl also removed his "ducking stool" is not narrated in the chronicles of that troubled time.

The justices of the peace who held this Virginia Court in Pittsburgh were the famous George Croghan, the generally disliked and infamous John Connolly, Dorsey Pentecost, who was of the earlier Bedford County magistrates, Thomas Smallman and John Gibson, whose nephew, Chief Justice Gibson, was later to be one of the greatest of our Pennsylvania Justices of the Supreme Court.

Westmoreland is the great mother, not only of Allegheny, but of many other Western Pennsylvania counties. Out of its original territory were formed in whole or in part Washington in 1781, Fayette in 1783, Allegheny in 1788, Butler, Mercer, Crawford, Erie, Venango and Armstrong in 1800, and Indiana in 1803.

Although, as above indicated, Washington County had been carved out of Westmoreland in 1781, her territory was yet too large, and moreover the vigorous demands of the settlers of this section who were compelled to travel to Greensburg, at last resulted in relief, and on September 24, 1788, Allegheny was formed out of portions of Westmoreland and Washington counties, to which, somewhat later, more territory taken from Washington was added. Our county was almost "imperial" in its limits. It extended to the boundary of New York and the shores of Lake Erie. When Pennsylvania in 1792 bought from the National Government the "Erie Triangle" containing about two hundred thousand acres, which gave her a lake coast and port, this new territory was added to the limits of Allegheny County.

At last, Fort Pitt and the "Forks of the Ohio" have come into their own and a real court is about to be held in Pittsburgh, and since then, for 134 years, the courts of this great county have been busy with the affairs of one of the most important, progressive, and influential Judicial Districts in the Union.

This first of our Courts had a very humble beginning, not being housed in a magnificent temple of justice, such as now hold our tribunals, but in Watson's old two-story log-house, long used as a store, but now turned into a Court-house. Here the courts sat for a long time. Of course, there

was a jail, and in all probability the accompaniments of that rude time—stocks, a pillory, and a whipping post were also to be found.

The Court of Quarter Sessions met here in December, 1788. Its President was George Wallace, and his associates were John Scott, John Wilkins and John Johnston. None of them was a lawyer. William Penn disliked lawyers, and for a long time the Courts of Quarter Sessions were held by men of the rough community, who, by their good sense and native ability, provided for the administration of justice in the backwoods country probably as well as trained lawyers could have done.

It is certain that George Wallace, who was a man of education and substance, filled all the requirements for many years, since he presided in that Court with honor and success for thirteen years, or until the new Constitution of 1790 went into effect, when, in 1791, he was re-appointed as an Associate Judge to sit with the first Law Judge of this Western District, Alexander Addison, who was one of the nine lawyers admitted to practice in this county, before President Wallace, when he held his first court in 1788. Wallace owned, lived upon, and cultivated the famous tract known as Braddock's Fields, and died there in 1814.

In addition to Addison, eight other lawyers were admitted at the first session of the court held here. They were David Bradford, Hugh H. Brackenridge, James Ross, John Woods, George Thompson, David St. Clair, James Carson and Michael Huffnagel, several of whom became famous at the bar of this or adjoining counties. Their admission was moved by Robert Galbraith, Esq., designated by the Attorney General as his deputy for this district.

As Judge Addison, our first "law judge," an educated, refined and distinguished jurist, fell a victim to the venom of one of his lay associates, it is not out of place to note here what William H. Loyd, in his "Early Courts of Pennsylvania," says of some of these Associate Judges. He was discussing the tendency of many people of the early period of our history to indulge in radical attacks upon the judiciary, and then proceeds:

"It may be said, however, for those who railed against the Courts, that many of the lay associate judges set any-

thing but a good example of judicial dignity, and quarreled even to the point of coming to blows and dragging each other from the bench. The lay judges, who rode the Circuits, manfully attempted to preserve in the log courthouses of remote counties the dignity of Westminster Hall, and added to their unpopularity with the uncouth inhabitants by instructing them in manners as well as law."

The lay judges, however, did not sit as sole judges in the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Nisi Prius. Consequently, the first of these more important courts was held here by Chief Justice McKean and Justice George Bryan, and evidently with much more ceremony than was found in President Wallace's Court of Quarter Sessions. One Chronicler notes that they wore scarlet robes. Their entrance into the Pittsburgh of that distant day was in all probability such as is described in the following extract: "They were greeted by the leading gentry and lawyers, marshalled by the High Sheriff; not in coaches, which were not then in use in Western Pennsylvania, but on horse-back. They did not wear gowns or enormous wigs, but were carefully dressed in black coats and knee breeches, with cocked hats, and, in going to and from the Court, they were preceded by the Sheriff bearing a long white wand. This procession was given somewhat of a martial effect by the rattling of a drum."

The Act of Assembly which established this county provided that the Courthouse and other public buildings should be built upon the "Reserve Tract" opposite Pittsburgh, which would have caused the then wild and unpopulated "North Side" to become the real center of the young community. This part of the Act thus locating the public buildings was repealed, and a lot in the Diamond, on the west side of Market Street, was secured for the new court house, and here it was built. It was during the construction of this building (not completed until 1799) that the Watson log-house was relinquished and the Court given lodging on the third floor of William Irwin's tavern, as heretofore noted, whence, after a brief sojourn in the tavern kept by John Reed at the "Sign of the Waggon," it removed to the "New Court House," the pride of the community. In this structure not only was justice administered, but here also

were held the local entertainments of the time, including Punch and Judy shows, tight and slack rope performances, farces and comic operas.

Thousands of lawyers have passed through the portals of our various court houses since the humble but important structure thus described was opened for sessions of the Courts. Many have left no trace,—a name upon the Register of Attorneys, and that is all, whilst, again, many have written their names high upon the scroll of fame both at the Bar and on the Bench and in their country's service either as legislators, diplomats or soldiers.

But we can not pause to consider the men who in recent years,—or following the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century have made our Bench and Bar famous; we must select but a few of the types of the earlier period for presentation,—but shall mingle with them the names of some who though not lawyers were closely associated with the administration of justice.

One such is William Crawford, first President of the first Court held at Hannastown and also a member of the Bedford Court that sat for all this vast territory. He was removed from his office as Justice of the Peace because he supported Virginia in the border controversy.

Those who recall the story of the Indian warfare "beyond the Ohio" will recognize him as Col. Crawford, who, after capture by the red men near Sandusky, was cruelly tortured before being burned at the stake.

Another tragic tale which has to do with one of the officers of the Courts of this county presents one of the many incidents of the violence of party spirit in 1806.

Tarleton Bates was then Prothonotary. He quarreled with Pentland, an editor of the period, who bitterly denounced him in his paper. Pentland challenged Bates, who declined on account of his challenger's conduct and character, and, in some manner, mortally offended Pentland's second, Stewart, who in turn challenged Bates, who accepted. They met near the site of the present Bates Street, which bears his name, and he was killed by Stewart's fire. It is interesting to note that Lincoln's Attorney General, Edward Bates, was the victim's youngest brother.

The intense bitterness of the times can be judged by

the will of Col. Adamson Tannehill, who, though not a lawyer, was prominent in this community, having represented this district in Congress in 1813 and 1815. His will is dated April 21, 1815, and is registered in Will Book vol. 2, p. 224. "In a former will I directed two busts to be placed in the Court house, as legacies to two of the most unprincipled scoundrels who ever appeared before a court of justice; one of them * * * *is dead in reality* and the other dead to all feelings of moral principle. I now decline a continuation of that appropriation, and direct that it be applied to a tombstone and epitath for myself, as follows:

Adamson Tannehill
Was born 23d of May, 1750
Died
--------18 --------Aged --------years
He served his country as an officer during the American Revolution, with the confidence of his superior
And Known to Himself
But
In the year 1798 his character was assailed by the slander of unprincipled men and the Virulence of Party.
He left this world with the Hope of a Better: Farewell, vain world:
I've seen enough of thee,
And am now careless what thou say'st of me,
Thy smiles I court not, nor thy frowns I fear:
My cares are past, my head lies quiet here.
What faults you found in *me*, take care to shun,
And look at home, enough there's to be done:
False swearing and vile slanders cannot reach me here,—
Of each, when living, I have had my share.
A. TANNEHILL."

Arthur St. Clair was one of the first Justices of the Peace commissioned in Western Pennsylvania. He was appointed by the Penns in 1771.

As already noted, as one of the five persons designated to select a county seat for Westmoreland, he opposed the Hannastown site. He was the first prothonotary of that

county, and his name is intimately associated with the courts of that period.

As a magistrate, he issued a warrant for the arrest of John Connolly, the emissary of Lord Dunmore, and caused his incarceration for a short time in the Hannastown jail.

He was one of the most famous men of the early period, but tragedy and pathos marked his declining years. He was a pioneer, a patriot, and a soldier, as well as magistrate. As Major General of the Army of the United States, he conducted the unfortunate expedition to punish the Western Indians that resulted in disaster, and the news of which almost broke Washington's heart. He died at his homestead near Ligonier in 1818, aged 84, and his remains were interred in the old cemetery at Greensburg.

He was one of the most distinguished and pathetic figures in American history.

Of the lawyers admitted here in 1788, those who were the ablest and achieved greatest fame, were Alexander Addison, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and James Ross. They would have reflected credit upon any Bar at any time.

We must not look upon those pioneer judges or lawyers as crude, uncouth, and uneducated men, wearing coon-skin caps and fringed hunting-shirts and leggins. We must remember that many of the provincial lawyers of Philadelphia and the East were the products of the "Inns of Court" of London and were as well equipped for the law as were their English brethren and were just as cultured. Consequently, the men who came to Western Pennsylvania to practice their profession were, in some instances, students under those English-bred lawyers, or were themselves college or university men, possessing all the learning, as well as the refinement of the cultured East.

Addison was a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, and his rival, Brackenridge, of Princeton. A little later came William Wilkins, David McKeehan, and Steele Semple, all graduates of Dickinson College; Thomas Collins, who claimed Trinity College, Dublin, as his Alma Mater; and Henry Baldwin and Charles Shaler, both products of Yale.

One authority says that Addison was born in Ireland and educated at the University of Edinboro. Another, and in my judgment the better, assigns his birth-place to Scot-

land and gives the university from which he was graduated as Aberdeen.

After graduation, he studied for the ministry and was licensed for the Aberlow Presbytery, at the age of twenty-three. He came to America in 1785 and settled at Washington, Pa., where he for a time supplied the church there. Another account says that he applied to the Redstone Presbytery for a license to preach in the Southwestern section of the state, but that his examination for some unexplained reason proved unsatisfactory, although, as stated, he was permitted to officiate at Washington.

In Washington he took up the study of the law with David Redick, a prominent figure—an Irishman, and a little later one of the members of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and in 1790 a delegate to the State Convention. He was admitted to the Bar in Washington in 1787—here in 1788. His rise was rapid, because this green Scotsman and ex "dominie" who arrived in 1785 was commissioned President Judge of the 5th Judicial District, comprising practically all of Western Pennsylvania, August 27, 1791, aged thirty-seven. He had previously sat as delegate to the Constitutional Convention.

He was impeached by the Pennsylvania Senate, found guilty, and removed from office January 27, 1803, returned to the practice of the law here in Pittsburgh, and died November 24, 1807, aged forty-nine.

Judge Addison was a cultured gentleman, a learned and able lawyer, and a fine, courageous and just judge.

He was too dogmatic and fond of sermonizing (a trait resulting from his first calling), too severe a critic of the uncouth and rude customs and manners of the times, and too bitter and uncompromising in his political beliefs to meet the approval of the radical anti-Federalists, and they finally proved his destruction.

His leading enemy was Hugh H. Brackenridge, a brother Scot and a fellow minister of the gospel. Brackenridge, it is said, instigated John B. Lucas, a Frenchman imbued with the revolutionary principles of the Anti-Federalists, and one of the lay associate judges, to address the Grand Jury, and Judge Addison interposed and prevented it, on the ground

that he, the President Judge, was the spokesman of the Court.

For this, an attempt was made by the Attorney General to indict him, but the Supreme Court refused the motion, holding, however, that the associate had a right to address the jury.

A second attempt by Lucas to charge the Grand Jury, in which he was again stopped by Judge Addison, resulted in the impeachment proceedings.

Of these, Judge Agnew has said they "were the most flagitious ever urged on by vicious hate and obnoxious partisanship."

The following extracts from his charges to the various grand juries will indicate his mental attitude, and you can see how the Anti-Federalists would squirm under some of them. He liked neither the politics nor the amusements of the citizens of Pittsburgh.

At the sessions of June, 1796, he presented his views on the fairs of the period as follows:

"You have probably seen an advertisement in the *Gazette* and in printed hand-bills, of a fair to be held in this place at this time. * * * The only fair I have seen in this country is that which was held here last June, as now, during the Court. An unusual number of idle people were assembled, strolling through the streets from tavern to tavern, drinking, dancing, and exerting themselves to be noisy. * * * From that specimen of a fair, I am disposed to think that a fair is another name for a nuisance, and I think it ought to be considered as such and the promoters of it as promoters of disturbance of the peace."

He was emphatic and insistent on "Liberty-poles" as being evidences of intention to overthrow the government. At a trial here in 1794 for a riot and conduct intended to insult the Commissioners who sought to procure an amicable adjustment of the Whiskey Insurrection, he said, "Pole raising was a notorious symptom of dissatisfaction, and the exhibition of this * * * must have made an impression very unfavorable to the whole country, promoted violence in the people here and induced force on the part of the government."

In a charge to the Grand Jury at December Sessions,

1794, in which he discussed "the late insurrection," he again returns to "Liberty Poles." He says:

"One offense which I would recommend to your particular consideration is the raising of liberty-poles. What is the liberty these pole-raisers wanted? A liberty to be governed by no law; a liberty to destroy every man who differs from them in opinion, or whom they hated; a liberty to do what mischief they pleased."

Again, at the September Sessions 1795, discussing the evils of political clubs and associations, he continues:

"We had an unhappy instance of this in the late insurrection. A set of mush-room patriots whose voice had never before been heard nor influence felt, sprung up at once * * * with nothing to recommend them, but ignorance, impudence and violence * * * by working on the passions of the people, they acquired all the influence of virtue, wisdom and patriotism."

But it was in defence of the Alien and Sedition Acts and in denunciation of the French Revolution and French propaganda that he was most fiery: At December Sessions 1798, he said:

"But is all our pity to be extended to strangers, and shall we extend no care to our wives and children. The French have threatened us with pillage, plunder and massacre * * * they have threatened us with a party among ourselves which will promote their views. Some of them, it is said, have told us that we dare not resent their injuries, for there are Frenchmen enough among us to burn our cities and cut our throats. And it seems we dare not remove these gentle lambs! Gracious Heavens! Are we an independent nation, and dare not do this?

* * * * * *

May the God of Wisdom open our eyes to the excellence of our Constitution and the purity and wisdom of our administration. * * * May He wean us from all partialities towards any foreign nation and preserve us from the machinations of a government ambitious, desperate, faithless and corrupt, which flatters only to deceive and carresses only to destroy!"

Equally well equipped for the law, and perhaps even a more able and brilliant barrister and scholar, was Addison's

great rival and enemy, Hugh Henry Brackenridge. He and his distinguished son Henry Marie Brackenridge, not only by their legal attainments and prestige, but by their literary labors, have a high place in the annals, not alone of Western Pennsylvania, but of the Nation.

The senior Brackenridge was born in Campbelton, Scotland, in 1784, and came to America with his parents as a child of five. The family was poor. By teaching school he saved enough to go to Princeton, where he became a tutor, and was graduated with the class of 1771. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was Master of an Academy in Maryland. He removed to Philadelphia, where he studied for the ministry, and evidently was licensed to preach, as he became a Chaplain in the Colonial Army. In 1778 he began the study of law with Samuel Chase, afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; was admitted to the Bar in Philadelphia; and in 1781 removed to Pittsburgh, and during the same year was admitted in Washington and Westmoreland counties. As already noted, he was admitted here in 1788, upon the organization of our first Court. He had much to do with procuring the erection of the new County of Allegheny,—having been elected to the Assembly in 1786 for that purpose. He evidently was the leader of the Bars of the various Courts in Western Pennsylvania at which he practiced from 1781 until his being commissioned as one of the justices of the Supreme Court of this state, December 18, 1799.

He was engaged in most of the cases reported in "Addison." The prominence of the various lawyers of that period may be guaged by the following summary of their cases as found in Addison's single volume of Reports:

Brackenridge, 56; Ross, 39; Young (Westmoreland Co.), 33; Woods, 32; Bradford, 6; Steele Semple, 6; and Galbraith, Deputy Attorney General (principally connected with his office), 11. Carson, admitted here with Brackenridge, had but three.

Brackenridge's career was not only a distinguished, but a stormy one. He was considered radical and against the excise tax; and it is claimed by some writers that if he did not support the insurgents, was not active in opposing them. It is said that Hamilton had marked him for arrest, but he

was saved by James Ross, his rival at the Bar. He was the leader of the advanced Republicans, whom their enemies then styled "Jacobins." The tenets and extravagances of the French Revolution were supported by these radicals. As a result, the *Gazette*, a Federalist journal, took pleasure in referring to Brackenridge as "Citizen Brackenridge," and when a little later this "Stormy Petrel" of the Bar set up an organ of his own, called the *Tree of Liberty*, the conservative *Gazette* forthwith dubbed him "Jacobin printer of the Tree of Sedition, Blasphemy and Slander."

These ardent Republicans met in John Marie's tavern, and no doubt regularly drank damnation both loud and deep to the hated Federalists. It is said that one of Brackenridge's Fourth of July orations was so appealing to the French sympathizers of the time that they printed and circulated it with that of one of the leading French revolutionists.

Brackenridge was a patron of learning, and his name appears with that of James Ross, in 1787, as one of the incorporators of the Pittsburgh Academy.

He supported the candidacy of Chief Justice McKean for the governorship, as against his co-incorporator, James Ross, and the day following Governor McKean's taking the office he nominated Brackenridge to the place upon the Supreme Bench, which he held until his death in 1816, aged 68. He had some years before removed from Pittsburgh to Carlisle, where he died.

Loyd, in "Early Courts of Pennsylvania," says of him:

"At the Bar, Brackenridge was rated for his shrewdness, wit and eloquence. * * * On the bench, he did not display the same power as at the Bar; his opinions were racy, but not profound, and failed to do justice to his real learning; an untiring student, his dislike of convention led him at times into a show of flippancy."

He hated Judge Yeates, one of his brethren, and rarely agreed with him. His antipathy likely began with Yeates' visit to Western Pennsylvania as a Commissioner to placate the "insurgents," and when he and his fellow commissioners were more than once threatened with violence including an application of tar and feathers by the "disgruntled" fellow

citizens and, perhaps, supporters of Hugh Henry Brackenridge.

Judge Brackenridge was a prolific writer, and, among other volumes from his pen was "Law Miscellanies." In this, in an article considering the obloquy under which the Supreme Court was then resting, he gives as reasons: (1) The affinity of three of the judges in which each deferred to his brother and did not care to hurt any one's feelings by dissenting; (2) The aristocratic tendency of the three, who were of distinguished and wealthy connections, and, therefore, disposed to look at things through class spectacles, and, finally (3) The spirit of the times in which people spoke of Courts in the language of Jack Cade.

There was an attempt to impeach three of the Judges, but Brackenridge, though not included, insisted upon being treated like the others. Loyd says of this: "This offer to stand impeachment with his colleagues was the most courageous act in the public career of the most eccentric genius that ever sat on our Supreme bench."

Before leaving Judge Brackenridge, we may note that his friend, John B. C. Lucas, the obstinate Associate Judge who finally triumphed over Judge Addison, was, in 1805, appointed to the United States Court for the new territory of Louisiana.

James Ross' name, his personality and activities are more firmly imbedded in our local history than are those of his two great contemporaries already mentioned. He seems to have been more practical, not a philosopher, a dreamer or a literary man, and, therefore, perhaps fitted into the intensely practical life of this community better than either Addison or Brackenridge.

He was born in York County, this state, in 1762, and was fourteen when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed. He died here in 1847, and, therefore, lived to within thirteen years of the Civil War—and saw the beginning of the modern era of Pittsburgh and of the Bar which was personally known to men who are yet living.

Our Courthouse and City-County Building are upon the land that Ross once owned, and Ross Street and Ross Township perpetuate his name.

His education was obtained under the Rev. Dr. McMil-

lan, at Canonsburg. His legal studies were made in Philadelphia, where he was admitted, and then he came west—being admitted in Fayette and Washington counties in 1784, Westmoreland in 1785, and here in 1788.

Hon. Russell Errett, in his Chapter in the "History of Allegheny County," devoted to the Bench and Bar, assigns to Ross the first place as a lawyer—not noted for his ability as an orator before juries, but for the soundness of his judgment and his comprehensive knowledge of the law. In the early days, here as elsewhere in pioneer counties, controversies as to land titles were the most frequent, as well as the most important matters coming before the Courts. In the trial of such cases James Ross excelled, and was employed in practically every important ejectment case in this section. He was a successful business man as well as lawyer, and was counted as a man of great wealth.

The history to which I have referred describes him as "a very large man, over six feet high, broad and full in his proportion, with big feet, of which he was not ashamed." He was not too much engrossed in the trial of ejectment cases or the acquisition of wealth to participate in the politics of the time. He was a Federalist and, therefore, in opposition to Brackenridge. He was a candidate for Governor, in 1799, and again in 1808, being defeated each time, and in his campaign encountering the malignant slanders and vituperative abuse peculiar to the politics of that period.

He was accused of avarice, blasphemy, mockery of religion, of being the candidate of the lawyers and the aristocracy, and of oppressing the wife of John Marie, who at one time kept the tavern on the site of the Ross property on Grant's Hill where Brackenridge, Lucas, John Marie, and other so-called "Jacobins" had their meeting place.

It seems that he either purchased this site from Marie, or else the latter had a long lease upon it. In any event, Marie and his wife fell out, the latter refused to vacate the property and Ross was obliged to begin legal proceedings to dispossess her. When, in 1808, he became a candidate against Simon Snyder, the editor of a scurrilous sheet in

Philadelphia, the *Aurora*, issued a pamphlet against Ross, entitled:

"The Case of Jane Marie, Exhibiting the Cruelty and Barbarous Conduct of James Ross to a Defenceless Woman, Written and Published by the Object of his Cruelty and Vengeance."

This libel, spread broadcast throughout the State, aided in Ross' defeat.

As a relief from the savagery of such campaign methods, we may note a more humane and really humorous one.

During the Snyder campaign Ross' adherents composed a marching song, which ran thus:

"James Ross
He's a hoss."

The supporters of the Pennsylvania Dutchman soon improved on this, and marched to victory with the following:

"James Ross
He's a hoss.
Simon Snyder
He's the rider!"

Ross was not, however, without civic honors, as he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1790 and was elected to the United States Senate, where he served from 1794 to 1805, and was presiding officer of that body in 1795 and 1797. He was also president of the Select Council of the City of Pittsburgh from 1816 to 1833, and, as already noted, was with Brackenridge as incorporator of the Pittsburgh Academy.

Thus far I have sketched but three of the ten men who assumed their places at the Pittsburgh Bar in 1788. Of most of them there is not much to say because the records are barren of more than a brief mention. Of George Thompson's career, nothing is known. Michael Huffnagel, of German extraction, was a Revolutionary officer and, no doubt, held a worthy place at the Bar, but I can find no trace of his activities. He was Prothonotary of Westmoreland County. David St. Clair was a son of the distinguished Arthur St. Clair, but I can not find that he was active here. James Carson's name appears in three cases in Addison's Reports, but he did not settle in this county and his career can not

be traced. John Woods was a son of Col. Woods, who laid out the plan of Pittsburgh in 1784. He was in active practice here and, as heretofore noted, appeared in many local cases, having thirty-two to his credit in Addison's Reports. He represented this district in Congress and was a State Senator and a Presidential Elector. He had a distinguished and honorable record, and ranks with the great lawyers of his period.

Robert Galbraith, Deputy Attorney General, already mentioned, had an important place in the history of the law here and left an honored name.

The "black sheep" of the flock was David Bradford, who was Deputy Attorney General for Washington County and served in that capacity from 1783 to 1795. He was a leader in the Whiskey Insurrection and was excluded from the terms of amnesty. He fled to Louisiana Territory, where he died. Hon. Russell Errett, in the "History of Allegheny County", says of him: "That he was a demagogue pure and simple is evidenced by his career, and that he was likewise a coward is shown by his speedy departure from the scene of action, when the insurrection began to collapse."

In the preparation of this paper reference has been had to the following books upon the period discussed: Chas. W. Dahlinger's "Pittsburgh: A Sketch of Its Early Social Life;" Craig's "Pittsburgh;" Killikelly's "History of Pittsburgh;" Hon. Russell Errett's article on the Bar in "History of Allegheny County;" Col. Blakely's "Bar of Allegheny County," and Loyd's "Early Courts."

THE FACTORY RIOTS IN ALLEGHENY CITY.

In the middle of the last century the cotton manufacturing industry was of great importance in this community, there being at least six factories in operation here, all of which were located in Allegheny City. On July 31, 1848, a riot of the workers in one of these factories occurred, which caused great excitement. After a number of the rioters had been tried and convicted, the proprietors of the factories issued a pamphlet detailing the incidents of the riot and giving their side of the case. Through the kindness of Mr. John C. Slack, a copy of the pamphlet was received by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. It is of interest in that it gives a graphic account of an event which was of far reaching consequence at the time of its occurrence, and incidentally portrays labor conditions in the cotton industry at that time, with sidelights on labor conditions generally.

There are in the city of Allegheny seven cotton manufactories. The capital invested amounts to over a million dollars. They give employment to about fifteen hundred hands, the chief portion of whom are females or boys, who would otherwise be without means of supporting themselves.

Previous to the Fourth of last July, the average wages paid to hands for twelve hours work were as follows:

To men, seven dollars and fifty cents per week—to some, over twelve dollars per week.

To boys, three dollars per week—to some, four dollars and fifty cents per week.

To girls two dollars and fifty cents—to some, as high as six dollars per week.

The persons deriving support from the cotton mills are estimated at not less than five thousand.

On the Fourth of July, the Pennsylvania Act of Assembly, limiting day's work to ten hours, except under special contract by guardians or parents of minors, took effect. The operation of this Act bore most severely on the cotton manufacturers of Allegheny, for the manufacturing capital of Philadelphia, having, for security against mob violence, been driven across the river to New Jersey, was not affected by the Act. Its operation was to increase at once, the cost of manufacturing here about seventeen per cent, in the single

item of wages, and, in other respects, increasing not less than twenty or twenty-two per cent in the aggregate, without any corresponding increase of price. Wages here were already much higher than in eastern manufactures—in weaving (a large item) the wages being here from seventy-five to one hundred per cent higher than in the east. Against ruinous competition elsewhere, not subject to any increased cost, any one can see that the manufactures of this city could not stand. They must either abandon the business or make arrangements to meet the exigency. Reduction of wages corresponding with reduction of work, or special contract, under the provisions of the law, for the usual time and prices heretofore existing between employer and operative was considered just and fair; and was declared by counsel, learned in law, to be legal. Accordingly, before the Act took effect, the matter was explained to the operatives, many of whom, seeing the matter in its proper light, were ready and willing to go on, under special agreement, pursuant to the law, at the usual time of twelve hours, at the usual wages, preferring this to the system of reduction. But these were intimidated by others, who, stimulated by bad counsel, and turbulent speeches, sought to coerce employers and fellow-operatives with threats and force.

Until proper understanding and arrangements could be made consistent with the provisions of the Act of Assembly, the factories stopped on the first of July, and remained idle until Monday, the thirty-first of that month.

In the interval a large number of hands, desiring work, entered into contracts, pursuant to the law, and requested the factories to be opened. Most of the owners, apprehending violence against the hands who chose to go to work, and danger to life and property, declined. But the owners of the Penn Factory, Kennedy, Childs & Co., relying upon the protection of law, and believing that the civil authorities, aided, if necessary, by the peaceful and law-abiding citizens, could afford sufficient protection, agreed with their hands to commence work on the morning of Monday, the thirty-first of July.

In order to prevent insult and injury to peaceful hands, and respectable and inoffensive females, who chose to work, the civil authorities of Allegheny City and the High Sheriff

of Allegheny County were apprised of the threats that had been made, and were requested to be ready to afford protection. The events that ensued are thus detailed, on oath, by Mr. Kennedy, one of the owners, Joseph Scott, John Forsyth, High Sheriff, and other witnesses, who were examined on the trial.

JOSEPH H. SCOTT, sworn.—Am a member of the Allegheny police. In July last, on the 30th day (the day before the riot), I was called on by the proprietors to go to the Penn Factory in the morning. I did go—early; saw a large collection of females, and some men; they were in front of the factory; when I first saw them, they were hissing those who were going to work; there is a board fence around the factory; the crowd was outside; those who were on the outside called those who were going to work "slaves"; after all went in, several little girls were throwing at the factory; some had eggs, some stones, some potatoes; saw Mary Lynch, Joanna Brown, and a girl named Stewart. There were several persons looking out of the factory windows, who were throwing out bobbins, etc.; those on the street were throwing up at them. This continued for some time. About noon, the Sheriff and a posse' came; went around to the back of the factory; there the girls were throwing stones; at this time, the mud valve was thrown open, and water was thrown upon them and also upon me; this made them outrageous; I then went and told Kennedy it would not do to throw water upon them; he said it should not be done. I then saw Armstrong with a stone in his hand; he said they would tear down the factory, if any more water was thrown upon them. I got him quieted, and he dropped the stone. Before the water was thrown, while we were on the bank of the river, Mr. Gungle made a sort of speech to them. He told the girls to stand out for their rights; said he would divide the last dollar with them, as long as they stood out and did what was right; he told them not to commit any outrage; that if they did, he would withdraw his support from them. Saw Samuel Hughes throwing at the factory; bade him leave; he did leave, but afterwards came back. The crowd was still gathering. When the Sheriff's posse' came the crowd became enraged; the girls, boys and men kept running from the front to the back of the fac-

tory; one of the Sheriff's posse', Bougher, said, if he was the Sheriff, he would "drive that mob to hell in a minute"; some one said, if they undertook to do that, they would ride him and the Sheriff both into the river. After dinner, news came to me that they were cutting down the gate; ran there, and saw a girl cutting at the gate with an axe; I caught the axe and took it from her. At this Hugh Armstrong came up, seized me, and told me to give the girl the axe, or he would knock my brains out; handed the axe to Mayor Campbell; Armstrong then hit me on the head with a stick. After this, some persons broke in the gate; saw James McKelvy in the yard; did not recognize others; they then made a rush on the lower gate, and broke it through; during this time, some girls were pelting me with mud; while there, a German, who was said to be an engineer, was chased, and badly abused; he was chased a great distance; we put him in the watch-house to save his life; saw Wash. McKelvy after him; we also put a person named Daniel Boisier into the watch-house to save his life; he was not a mill-hand. I was there till the gates were shut up in the evening; steam was up in the morning. The men did nothing until the Sheriff came, and the water was thrown on them—about 9 or 10 o'clock; saw Robert Vance; did not see him do anything; did not see Lindsay do anything; he assisted me to stop the President from going to the factory; some boys had broken into the house and taken the engine out for the purpose of throwing water on the factory; did not see George Keenan; saw Wm. Thompson, but did not see him do anything; saw Joanna Brown throwing some pebbles; Miranda Holander was engaged in the same; saw Mary Lynch throwing potatoes; saw Rosetta Richards throwing pebbles; saw Sarah Stewart throw eggs; saw James McKelvy throwing stones; also Samuel Hughes; officers, Armstrong, Weigyl, Randolph, Hosack, Nelson and myself were there.

R. T. KENNEDY, sworn.—Am one of the proprietors of the Penn Factory; I opened the mill on the 31st of July; the evening previous I made preparations for defence, by informing Mayor and Sheriff that we were threatened with a mob; there was a small number of persons outside; the boys and girls came in to work; part of the time I was in the factory, and part of the time walked round outside; the

crowd began to grow larger; not more than forty hands went to work; two-thirds of them were girls; at 7 o'clock, we stopped the mill to let the girls go to breakfast; after breakfast there were about the same number in, some of whom were in before, and some were not; saw no violence to those who were coming in, but heard noise and hooting; about eight o'clock sent for Sheriff; he came, with posse'; Sheriff told them to disperse; he spoke civilly, but they did not mind him; about that time they commenced breaking the front windows; they threw stones, etc., there might have been one thousand persons around the factory; the mob continued throwing stones till nearly 11 o'clock; by 10 o'clock, a great many lights in the front windows were broken; about that time they attempted to break open the front gate. (A drawing of the factory was here shown, and witness explained it). About this time I found that it would be impossible for the girls to go to dinner, so I sent for some provisions; the gate on Isabella street was about being broken open, when I said it might be possible to frighten them away if we would blow off some steam; the steam was discharged. (Witness described the position of the pipe). The mob gave way at the time; at this time there was not less that one thousand people front, and one thousand back; after the water was thrown off, they broke the gate and tore down fence; soon saw two other gates open on same street—how they were opened I don't know; the provisions did not get into the yard; did not see the man who had them; some of the mob chopped the door open with an axe; saw females swinging the axe. They went into the mill, they went through, broke machinery, carried off things; cannot tell who broke machinery; the mob retained possession of the building till about 3 or 4 o'clock; there were one or two hundred in the building at one time; I was struck several times, but not severely hurt; when the outside enclosure was taken, I went out and told them that if they would desist, I would let the girls out; I let the girls out through the blacksmith's shop; a mob rushed in at a door, and insisted upon going upstairs; I told them the girls had gone home, and told them to appoint a committee to go up and see; they did so, and the committee reported that no girls were there; afterwards, some persons insisted upon going up, and did go up. Nearly

all who were there were strangers; Mr. Logan was hurt; Wagly was badly hurt; found that the blacksmith's shop had been broken open afterwards.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.—The mill was closed on the Saturday previous to the Fourth of July; on the Fourth, the law preventing the hands from working more than ten hours, except by special contract, went into effect; we got the contracts prepared; a number of the hands signed the contracts; some parents signed for several children; I at first declined opening the mill, but the hands urged me to open; the hands came voluntarily and signed; the agreements were not prepared before the stoppage of the Fourth; we did not open before a sufficient number had signed, and requested us to open; we notified them that if they did not sign the contract, we would stop the mill; the contracts were not printed, till after the first of July.

The proprietors held several meetings in reference to the Ten Hour law; we agreed there should be a special contract; a committee was appointed to draft a contract.

About 5 o'clock in the morning, saw girls outside; no contracts were made for children under fourteen years of age; before the steam was let off, several hundred panes of glass were broken; by my orders the steam was let off.

"How did you expect to frighten those outside, by throwing water inside?"

WITNESS.—If you'd been there, you might have been frightened, for it makes a great noise.

JOHN WAGLY, sworn.—Was a member of the Allegheny police; was at the riot in the morning; saw crowds around the factory; went home to breakfast; saw no violence before this time; the crowds were larger after 7; the Sheriff came at 9 o'clock, with posse'; there was great confusion and noise; eggs and stones were thrown; we tried to persuade them to go away, we could not arrest any one; Col. J. A. Gray was hit on the hat with an egg, and eggs were thrown at the factory; after the arrival of the Sheriff many good citizens seemed offended; some objected to the kind of men the Sheriff took; they called them d——d Irish; they also objected to the Pittsburgh police; Mr. Bougher was among them; Lindsay said something about putting them in the river; the Sheriff spoke to them quietly and told

them to go away; about 12, saw a female chopping at the front gate—did not know her; after this time, two young men came up to me, and one said, "Here is one of them d——d sons of b——s, let us kill him;" he struck me on the head with a board; another hit me with a cinder; the stroke blinded me; the Sheriff took me to Dr. Knox; this was between 12 and 1 o'clock; David Hughes and Mary Lynch are the only persons I saw in active violence; saw some one take a hat, and put it on a pole, and said, "Here's Kennedy's hat"; a man named Kinsloe entreated the mob to follow him; many went, and he made a speech to them; don't know what he said. Heard some of the posse' say that the Sheriff should call out the military; saw girls as young as ten years, and as old as thirty.

JOHN FORSYTH, High Sheriff, sworn.—Am Sheriff of the County; was called to the riot; the first I knew of the throwing stones, was a pelt I got with a stone on the breast; this was about 12; I expostulated with the crowd; can't recollect anything definite that was said; remained till 3 o'clock; the mob was not dispersed; saw no violence offered to any of the posse'; saw cutting with axes, but don't know by whom; saw Vance there; can't say I saw him doing anything; he and Lindsay came to me; they said they understood I had come to contend for the twelve hour system; said I had brought a set of Imported Irishmen to assist me; told them I was willing to take a posse' from themselves; the mob chased me; went to the rear of the factory, and asked assistance from the citizens; none interfered; crowds rushed in the yard, when the gate was down; a girl said, "It is not our intention to destroy property; we want to get at the girls;" I told them to leave the yard, and I'd have the girls taken out; a charge was made upon us, and we all ran; left with intention of raising military force, but returned without doing anything."

The primary object of the mob seems to have been that avowed to the Sheriff, viz.: "to get at the girls," who were peaceably at work in the mill. And this is corroborated by two of the defendant's witnesses, on cross-examination.

MARY FULTON, cross-examined.—Went there to see our rights; expected to get the girls out who had gone to work; we went into an understanding to meet them that day.

ELIZABETH HAGGERTY, cross-examined.—We went to get the girls out; we went to get them out the best way we could.

Then follows the manufacturers' argument:

What followed from this unlawful design (stimulated by those who seek to array labor against capital as antagonists, while, in fact, they are natural allies, bound by mutual interests to afford mutual protection), is sufficiently detailed in the foregoing testimony, and the Judge's charge.

The injury sustained by property from this violence, is of trifling consequence, compared to the outrage upon humanity, the overthrow of peace and order, the destruction of personal liberty of action, and the hazard to life. In punishment of the offenders, the manufacturers can have no interest beyond that of all good citizens, who desire peace and order, and value liberty and safety. Destruction of property by a mob never stops with those against whom it is aimed; and always, as in this instance, other lives are in as much danger from mob violence as those who are its intended victims.

Besides, the best interests of this community are identified with its manufacturers. Destroy them, and not only are thousands thrown out of employment, arts, mechanic trades, commerce, business of every kind must suffer. Labor and capital are natural allies, and should never be hostile to each other. Labor renders capital profitable. Capital gives labor employment. The one demands safety for its investment, the other, fair compensation for its work. Whatever deprives either of this just demand, is hostile to both. And the laborer has no worse enemy, than him who stirs up bad passions against the employer.

In what other pursuit can a large portion of those who work in cotton mills find employment equally advantageous to them? Against idleness and want there is no other alternative but house service, which is regarded with less favor than any other species of labor, having fewer privileges, with more work and less pay. For health, comfort and compensation, those employed in mills, may challenge any other class of operatives in the world. The factory system of this country bears no resemblance to that of Europe. And the terms, indicating the relative position of operative and em-

ployer, used to stimulate passion, however applicable there, are here wholly misapplied. In this country, experience shows that the happiness and prosperity of a community increase in every department, with its manufacturing capital; and that wages of labor increase with compensation among capitalists. Reproach, insult and personal abuse against the owners, will not increase investments, nor give them permanence, but on the contrary lead more than any thing else to a contrary result. And hence, the blind hostility manifested in this city against capital, and the unceasing efforts of those who stir it up, has already been of serious injury to the whole community, by deterring new investments, and inducing withdrawal of some already made. In this respect, nothing can be more disastrous than riotous outrage.

The result of the late trial, by asserting the supremacy of the law, and by enforcing order and tranquility, may do much to reassure confidence, and maintain peace and liberty. In this result, the undersigned have the same, and no other interest than all good citizens of this Commonwealth.

For that result the public are indebted to the firmness and integrity of the Jury, the wisdom and independence of the Judge and the resolute prosecution by Messrs. Shaler and Stanton.

Blackstock, Bell & Co. Pitt Mill.
King, Pennock & Co. Eagle Mill.
Pollard McCormick, Hope Mill.
Morehead, Copeland & Co. Union Mill.
Kennedy, Childs & Co. Penn Mill.
James A. Gray, Allegheny Mill.

INDIAN GRAVES

By

BENJAMIN S. PARKER

All along the winding river
And adown the shady glen,
On the hill and in the valley,
Are the graves of dusky men.

We are garrulous intruders
On the sacred burying grounds
Of the Manitau's red children,
And the builders of the mounds.

Here the powah and the sachem,
Here the warrior and the maid,
Sleeping in the dust we tread on,
In the forests we invade.

Rest as calmly and as sweetly,
As the mummied kings of old,
Where Cyrene's marble city
Guards their consecrated mould.

Through the woodland, through the meadow,
As in silence oft I walk
Softly whispering on the breezes,
Seems to come the red men's talk;

Muttering low and very sweetly
Of the good Great-Spirit's love,
That descends like dews of evening,
On His children, from above.

Still repeating from the prophets,
And the sachems gray and old,
Stories of the south-west Aiden
Curtained all around with gold:

Where the good and great Sowanna
Calleth all His children home
Through the hunting grounds eternal
Free as summer winds to roam:

Singing wildest songs of wailing
For the dead upon their way,
On the four days' journey homeward
To the realms of light and day:

Chanting soft and gentle measures,
Lays of hope and songs of love,
Now like shout of laughing waters,
Now like cooing of the dove:

Then, anon, their feet make echo
To the war song's fiendish howl,
And revenge upon their features
Sets his pandemonian scowl.

See! again, the smoke is curling
From the friendly calumet,
And the club of war is buried,
And the star of slaughter set.

But alas! imagination,
Ever weaving dream on dream,
Soon forgets the buried red men
For some more congenial theme.

But although their race is ended
And forever over here,
Let their virtues be remembered,
While we fervently revere

All their ancient burial-places,
Hill and valley, plain and glen;
Honor every sacred relic
Of that fading race of men.

Gitche-Manito has called them
From the chase and war-path here,
To the mystic land of spirits,
In some undiscovered sphere.

In a land of light and glory,
That no sachem's eye hath seen,
Where the streams are golden rivers,
And the forests ever green;

Where the winter-sun descending
Sets the south-west sky aflame,
Shall the Indian race be gathered
In the great Sowanna's name.

CAREERS OF THE CROGHANS

SOME INTERESTING REMINISCENCES RECALLED BY A MISNAMED ALLEGED FORT IN AN OBSCURE TEXAS COUNTY

By

STEPHEN QUINON*

Some weeks ago I saw, in the *San Antonio Express*, a nearly full page illustrated article by Mrs. Samuel S. Posey, entitled "Old Fort Croghan" and I squinted at the name. "What Croghan is this?" I thought of George Croghan Indian agent, because of his immeasurable capacity for bearing up under Indian prolixity, hero of I know not how many pow-wows at Fort Pitt, but the name cannot recall any of his descendants since he was an old bachelor. The fort must have been named for somebody related to William Croghan. I began to read.

"Tucked away in the heart of Burnet county (Texas) nestling in its clasp of purple hills at the foot of Post mountain is an old log house, all that is left of Fort Croghan, which was built immediately after the Mexican war, and here some of the most famous actors in the swift-moving drama of American history were stationed—Lee, McClellan, Hood, Van Dorn, and the rest. It is garrisoned and commanded now by Aunt Sophie Sampson past her four-score and ten, once a slave and valiantly as you may know from her square chin and the iron set of her jaws. It is doubtful if one in ten thousand persons in Texas knows there is such a spot as old Fort Croghan."

And I doubt if one in a million outside of Texas ever heard of it. Named it was for "Captain Croghan one of the bravest heroes of the Mexican war days."

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*Mr. Quinon is now a resident of Comfort, Texas, from where he writes. For many years he was an editor of Pittsburgh newspapers, most of his work being on the *Times* and the *News*.

Yes, dear Mrs. Posey, but what was his first name and what in particular his valorous deeds? No answer. Plainly Mrs. Posey is unable to answer. I must ask somebody who can, for something familiar is running in my head. I wrote to the War Department and promptly received this:

"The official records show that George Croghan, born in Locust Grove, near Louisville, Kentucky, November 15, 1791, was appointed captain in the Seventeenth Infantry March 12,1812; that he was promoted to be Major March 30, 1813; lieutenant colonel of the Second Rifle Regiment February 21, 1814, and transferred to the First Infantry May 17, 1815; that he was brevetted lieutenant colonel August 2, 1813, for distinguished conduct in the defense of Fort Stephenson, Ohio; that under the act of Congress approved February 13, 1835 he was presented with a gold medal with suitable emblems and devices in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of his gallantry and good conduct in the defense of Fort Stephenson, Ohio, and that he died January 8, 1849, at New Orleans, Louisiana. It is stated on the records that the officer mentioned was the son of Major William Croghan, of Virginia, who served during the Revolutionary war, and a nephew of General George R. Clark, and that he also served as a volunteer aid-de-camp to Colonel Boyd in the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811."

Now things are clearer to me; one forgets as he grows old. Fort Stephenson, as most are aware, once Lower Sandusky, is now Fremont. President Hayes lived there, and after his service as chief magistrate was supervisor of the roads there, an important office you would know if you lived in these glorious mountains of the Guadelupe. I am sure he saw to it that the people of his town and around had good roads, more easily made there, by the way, than down here.

As to that victory over the British and Indians, how it was won, any one can learn for himself in the Carnegie Library at small expense of time and trouble. I am not writing about the war of 1812.

Mrs. William M. Darlington long ago told me the story of the Croghans in Ireland which has escaped me—a small loss to the present purpose, however; sufficient that William Croghan, born perhaps in 1750 came to this country when a

young fellow and settled in Virginia. When the war of the Revolution began he enlisted as a captain in the Fourth Virginia of which John Neville was colonel and when peace was restored pitched his tent in Pittsburgh as did a notably large number of Revolutionary officers.

Dismal hole as it was, it had a peculiar attraction for them. What was this attraction? The victors in every war are enthusiastic; nothing seems impossible to them; their imaginations are excited; the old men dream dreams and the young see visions; magnificent projects are invented; see how it was after the triumph of the North in our Civil war. Those men of the Revolution looked out on the vast and unknown west, the mysteries of which Lewis and Clarke were to explore after the purchase of the Louisiana territory, and beheld incalculable possibilities in trade and in land speculation. Pittsburgh was to be the gateway into these.

Croghan, however, did not remain long in Pittsburgh. In 1784 he folded his tent and noiselessly stole away to the Falls of the Ohio and I conjecture at the instance of George Rogers Clarke who had an eye to the future of a city there, and which at the close of 1785 was called Clarkesville, as Richard Butler relates in his journal. He, Butler, looked over it, and then "we returned in the afternoon to Louisville where we found the people engaged in selling and buying lots in the back streets." It was an unpromising place to him, and he declined to invest in that property.

Croghan had then probably selected the ground for his estate of Locust Grove, and as it is said to have been near the Louisville of that day, was I imagine, long ago swallowed up by the city. There he married a sister of George Rogers Clarke, and in the home of Locust Grove that son was born who was to bear the name of his uncle. George, whose strenous life is succinctly narrated in the War Department record, and who died at New Orleans in 1849. What was he doing there? Military duty doubtless, and likely as not he died in one of the outbreaks of yellow fever there.

William Croghan, father, died at Locust Grove in 1822; Clarke had died there early in 1818.

Croghan had another son, whom he named after himself I judge, William, evidently younger than George, and with-

out the latter's fondness for a military career. In 1821 he married Mary, daughter of General O'Hara, of Pittsburgh. He is described as having been "a remarkably handsome man * * tall and well built, with remarkably well-proportioned features, and an exceedingly keen and intelligent eye * * a very Chesterfield in courtly manners. In May of 1835 he was admitted to the bar of Allegheny county. I guess he practised little, as his means rendered him independent of the drudgery of the law. He turned to it, I dare say, because as a lawyer he could the better care for the large landed interests left by his father-in-law, who died in 1819, and because a profession added to his social standing.

The rich idler was little esteemed at the head of the Ohio in those days, as I have been informed. He resided at his beautiful country seat, "Picnic" and died there in September of 1850, less than two years after the death of his martial brother in New Orleans. His wife died in 1827, leaving him two children, William, who survived her less than a twelve-month, and Mary E. who married Captain Schenley, the memory of whom will be kept green for ages by Schenley Park.

Doubtless George Croghan served in the Mexican war, but doubtful if he ever set foot in Burnet county. Glance at a map of Texas and note the progress of its settlement. That fort was erected for the protection of the pioneers, ever pushing westward; it does not commemorate his valor in Mexico, but in that fort near Sandusky bay.

What about all this? Well, I'll tell you. One summer day of 1902, hunting horses in the Bitter Root mountains, I descended into a grassy gulch and there, close to a brook, and under a noble fir tree, I saw two sticks in the ground, the forked ends up, and from one to the other a cross bar on which the kettle hung, while around were empty cans and other like signs of feasting. I said to myself, "Campers here once." I walked over to the ground, where lay newspapers on which the deep snow of the winter of 1901 had melted. I picked up one, stained, stuck together; carefully pulled it apart, and, behold, a copy of the *Pittsburgh Daily News*, containing sundry of my articles.

How would you feel in such circumstances? Just so! Well that is how I felt that day in the mountains of Central

Idaho. And very much so I felt here in the mountains of the Guadelupe, when I picked up the *San Antonio Express* and stared at the picture of "Old Fort Croghan" and of dear Aunt Sophie Sampson past 90 years old, worthy garrison, with her square chin and the iron set of her jaws. She nursed Robert E. Lee while he lay sick there. Of course, she did. Washington's body servants are surely all dead by now and it is time to begin a series of the nurses of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

Croghan! Pittsburgh had come to me, and on this occasion with romantic interest. In prosaic form it comes to me every now and then at the railway station in the form of boxes and packages of manufactured articles. Over yonder Fred Cox is driving a well for Henry Lages, and his engine and drilling machine are marked "Beaver Falls." His drill and its 1000 pound shaft I guess were forged in Pittsburgh.

What is this all about? Why, about the historical and industrial reach of Pittsburgh.

WASHINGTON'S WESTERN JOURNEYS AND THEIR RELATION TO PITTSBURGH

By

ROBERT M. EWING*

"Great men are the Ambassadors of Providence, sent to reveal to their fellowmen their unknown selves." This statement is credited to Vice President-elect Coolidge in a recent address in New York City. It contains food for thought, but doubly so when he continues. "There is something about them better than they do or say. They come and go. They leave no successor. Their heritage of greatness descends to the people."

The truth of these statements is verified in the life and influence of George Washington, the statesman and patriot. The things that he did, and the things that he said, have been indelibly stamped upon the heart of the nation, but the past, more than a century has exemplified that his greatness has descended to the people, and working through them to the nations of the world.

When President John Adams issued his proclamation recommending that "the people of the United States assemble on the 22nd day of February in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief for the death of General George Washington by suitable eulogies, orations and discourses, or by public prayer, "the heart of the Nation was touched and it responded with an outburst of sentiment such as had never before been seen." Master minds, then, and since, have delivered fitting eulogies and orations, and nothing that I might say could either add to or detract from his greatness. It is the purpose of this paper to point out some facts and incidents showing the influence which he had in the development of what in early times was known as the Western Country.

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on February 21, 1921.

In 1753 it was reported to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia that the French were making encroachments on what was deemed to be British territory beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and he thought it to be his duty to watch the movements of the French and defend British claims against unwarranted encroachment. Young George Washington, not yet twenty-two years of age, was selected as an emissary to the officer in charge of the suspected hostile movements, to ascertain his designs, and make such observations as his opportunities would allow. His known knowledge of Indians, his acquaintance with modes of living and travelling in the woods, which had been acquired in surveying expeditions, as well as the marked traits of character that he had already displayed, no doubt commended him for this delicate and important mission.

"Faith, you're a brave lad" was Dinwiddie's parting word as Washington left Williamsburg, Virginia, on October 31st, with Jacob Van Braam, as French interpreter, Christopher Gist, as guide, and four attendants. We are told in his journal that he reached Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, just above the present town of Braddock, on Thursday, November 22nd, and that the waters were impassable without swimming their horses; that they were obliged to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier and send their baggage down the Monongahela to meet them at the "forks of the Ohio."

In this manner he approached the spot that became Fort Duquesne, later Fort Pitt, and still later, Pittsburgh. It would be difficult to imagine his feelings upon entering this wilderness and unsettled country. He entered it no doubt, burdened with the importance, dangers and responsibility of his mission; yet faithfully noting the conditions as they came under his observation when travelling through rugged and pathless mountains and through lonely and cheerless wildernesses, where civilization had not yet appeared.

He made his way from Frazier's to the forks and says:

> "As I got down before the canoe I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land at the fork which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty five feet above the common surface of the water,

and a considerable bottom of flat, well timbered land all around it very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile more or less across, and run here very nearly at right angles, Allegheny bearing northeast and Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still without any perceptible fall."

It appears that the Ohio Company in order to protect its interest, had in contemplation the erection of a fort at, or near what is now McKees Rocks, and Washington examined this proposed location and records his judgment as follows:

"About two miles from this on the southeast side of the river at the place where the Ohio company intend to build a fort, lives Shingiss, King of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to a council at Logstown. As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday to the situation at the fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defence or advantages, especially the latter. For a fort at the fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage as it is of a deep, still nature, besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place".

Here we have the clear headed, practical engineer, even at the age of twenty-two years differentiating between the practical and impractical in big things. The Ohio Company had evidently chosen this site for water defence, but Washington saw that there were other methods of attack to be guarded against and goes on to say:

"Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defence, but the hill whereon it must stand being about a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high or else the hill itself cut away, otherwise the enemy may raise batteries within the distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort".

Shingiss accompanied the expedition to Logstown, at

which place they arrived between sun setting and dark. This point has been definitely located on the Ohio about fourteen miles below Pittsburgh. Here conferences were held with Indian chiefs and plans perfected for the journey to Fort LeBouf and Presque Isle where the City of Erie now stands. We will not follow this company further on the outward journey nor upon the return all of which was amid dangers, and in which Washington narrowly escaped death at the hands of a hostile Indian, but pick him up, so to speak, as he approached the Allegheny River, but of this he shall speak in the words of his journal.

"The next day we continued travelling until quite dark and got to the river about two miles above Shannopins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities. There was no way for our getting over but on a raft, which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole days work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off, but before we were half way over we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence that it jerked me out into ten feet of water, but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the logs on the raft. Notwithstanding all our efforts we could not get to either shore, but were obliged as we were near an island to quit our raft and make to it. The cold was so severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning and went to Frazier's.

The island to which reference is made is believed to have been what is now known as Wainwrights Island opposite the foot of 48th Street Pittsburgh, and Shannopins was a Delaware town about two miles up the Allegheny.

The date of this incident was December 26th, and is one of the events in history, of his marvellous protection from harm that he might yet serve mankind and his country.

While preparations were being made for Washington's return to Virginia, from Frazier's house, he made a visit to Queen Allequippa, who lived at the forks of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela, the site of Reynoldton opposite McKeesport, she having expressed great concern at having been passed by on his trip to the forks on November 22nd. Her favor was regained for he says "I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two."

On Tuesday, January 1, 1754, the journey from Frazier's to Williamsburg began. The party arrived at Gist's on the Monongahela the next day. On the sixth day they met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio, and the following day they met some families on their way to settle. Upon arriving at Wills Creek—the site of the present Cumberland, Maryland, apparently out of the wilderness. Washington sums up the difficulties of the trip in these words.

> "This day we arrived at Wills Creek after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the 1st day of December to the 15th there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly, and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings especially after we had quitted our tent which was some screen from the inclemency of it."

The sagacious eye of this emissary had selected the Forks as the commanding one for the whole disputed territory and upon his report having been made to Governor Dinwiddie, and the letter of the French Commander of which Washington was the bearer, having proved evasive and unsatisfactory—it was at once decided to send troops and occupy this site. To accomplish this was not an easy task. The Virginia Legislature hesitated to grant the necessary funds. They could not grasp the vision that Washington had, and could not believe that the people of Virginia could ever possibly have any interest in what might go on behind the Alleghany Mountains. In time, however, three hundred troops were raised and placed under command of Col. Joshua Fry with Washington second in command as a lieutenant colonel. In the meantime the French had struck the threat-

ened blow, took possession of the fort, drove away the garrison, finished the fort at the forks and named it Fort Duquesne.

On April 29, 1754, Washington again started for the Western country, his objective being "the forks" of the Ohio. It was a difficult task to transport the artillery by hand drawn methods over the mountains and upon reaching Great Crossings the Army lay there for several days while Washington, Lieutenant West, three soldiers and an Indian descended the river in a canoe to ascertain if it was navigable for transportation of the artillery. They were doomed to disappointment upon reaching Ohio Pyle Falls, a distance of approximately thirty miles from Great Crossings. With a small force he reached Great Meadows on May 26th and had his first military skirmish, losing one man killed and three wounded. Of the French ten were killed, including Jumonville, one wounded and twenty-one captured. A few days later in a letter to a brother Washington is alleged to have remarked "I heard the bullets whistle and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound". Being asked in later years if he had made such a remark he replied "If I said so it was when I was young". The building of Fort Necessity as a retreat in case of disaster followed, for real warfare confronted the expedition. The death of Col. Fry left Washington—a youth of twenty two years in supreme command. The objective of this expedition was not obtained for the defeat of Fort Necessity and the most honorable surrender on July 4, 1754 followed, due to shortage of provisions and being outnumbered four to one.

His conduct of this expedition was considered brilliant, even though defeated, and called forth a vote of thanks from the Legislature of Virginia.

This expedition ended, its commander resigned from the Army and turned his attention to agricultural pursuits. This was not long to continue for he was in the next year called to again invade the Western country. This time not in chief command, but as a part of the Braddock Expedition. General Braddock was selected by the British Ministry as general in chief and intrusted with extensive military operations in America looking to the dispossessing of the French from the disputed territory, and was to lead in person the enterprise

that was to drive them from the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia and recover the valley of the Ohio. Alexandria, Virginia, was selected as the place where the British troops were to debark and encamp. This brought military activity to the very portals of Mount Vernon and it is not surprising if the blood of Washington tingled with excitement and the military part of his nature came in the ascendent; it is not surprising that his personal merits, his knowledge of the country and his frontier service were brought to the attention of General Braddock. Neither is it cause for wonder that prompt acceptance followed an invitation to join the staff of the brave and intrepid general, even though the position is said to have been without emolument or command, but attended with expense and the sacrifice of private interests.

In this manner his third call to the "Forks of the Ohio" came to the man who first stood there in November, 1753, but we can only touch on the events of this expedition which in itself would furnish material for volumes.

Braddock's unfamiliarity with the character of the country ahead of him, his lack of knowledge of Indian customs and wild bush fighting were his undoing. The youthful staff officer, who knew conditions only too well, appreciated the difficulties and modestly tried to impress these difficulties upon his chief, only to be rebuffed, for this experienced general did not until later on come to the point of counselling with his young aid.

"Washington had looked with wonder and dismay at the huge paraphernalia of war and the world of superfluities to be transported across the mountains". When he recollected his own experiences, he said "If our march is to be regulated by the slow movements of the train, it will be tedious, very tedious indeed". The result of this suggestion was a sarcastic smile from Braddock as betraying the limited notions of a young provincial officer, little acquainted with the march of armies. It seems that Franklin who was also with the expedition called his attention to the danger of ambuscades, with the result as stated by him. "He, Braddock, smiled at my ignorance and replied, 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossble they should

make an impression;' and Franklin continues, "I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession and said no more".

The march over the mountain proved the predictions of Washington, and by the time Little Meadows had been reached on June 16th, "General Braddock had become aware of the difference between campaigning in a new country, and, on the old well beaten battle grounds of Europe."

He now, of his own accord, turned to Washington for advice, though it must have been a sore trial to his pride to seek it of so young a man; but he had by this time sufficient proof of his sagacity, and his knowledge of the frontier. He was soon to learn also what an impression Indian warfare could make upon "the King's regular and disciplined troops."

Now too he accepted the advice of his young aide, and divided his forces, leaving the baggage train, and advanced with the choicest troops, lightened of all superfluous equipment. This action had been urged without success much earlier, and now Washington was buoyed up with hopes of rapid advancement across the mountains. In this he was doomed to disappointment, for, says he, "I found that instead of pushing on with vigor without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every molehill, and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles". These delays must have been a sore trial to him, but a still worse one befell, for about June 24th, illness had overtaken him and he was obliged to remain with his friend Dr. Craik at Great Crossing until the arrival of the baggage train under command of Col. Dunbar.

Braddock slowly advanced and encountered the usual difficulties. On July 3rd Washington having partially recovered continued his journey with a convoy of provisions. He was not able to mount his horse and therefore travelled in a cargo wagon, until he joined the advanced camp on July 8th on the east side of the Monongahela river and about fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne. This camp was on the Pittsburgh side of the river and was somewhere near the city of McKeesport but the army crossed the Monongahela by a ford opposite the camp, and then recrossed to the eastern side at the mouth of Turtle Creek, at Frazier's place. Then followed the exciting and tragic events that are a matter of history,

events in which our subject was the foremost figure, unmindful of his personal danger, in his effort to rally the distracted forces. A few days later he wrote to his mother, "I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me."

He now returned in broken health to Mount Vernon on July 26th but amid the approbation of his friends and countrymen.

That he had gained the confidence of Governor Dinwiddie is shown in a letter dated July 26 1755 in which he says: "Dear Washington: The dismal defeat of our forces by such a handful of men gives me very grave concern * * . However I was glad to receive your letter and that you came safe off without any wounds after your gallant behavior on which I congratulate you". He then asks about the possibility of renewing action against the French before the winter months and concluding says: "Pray write me your opinion thereon" and signs himself "Sir your very humble servant." This from the great Governor of Virginia to the youth of twenty four years.

As said by Irving "the early popularity of Washington was not the result of brilliant achievements, on the other hand it rose among trials and reverses and may almost be said to have been the fruits of defeat". An instance of this high appreciation of his merits occurs in a sermon preached on the 17th of August by the Rev. Samuel Davis wherein he cites him as "That heroic youth Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country". When we recall that he was shot at by an Indian on his return from Venango, that he marvellously escaped while crossing the Allegheny, and most remarkable of all that he escaped injury at Fort Necessity and at Braddock's Field, taken with the great service he was permitted to render to his country in after years, these words appear almost prophetic.

We pass over the turmoil of the times that elapsed between Braddock's defeat and the events of 1758 which concern us in the consideration of the journeys of Washington. Brigadier General Forbes was placed in charge of the middle and southern colonies, and was to undertake the reduction of

Fort Duquesne. Washington was commander in chief of the Virginia troops consisting of two regiments of one thousand men each, one led by himself, the other by Colonel Byrd, the whole of which was destined to become a part of the army of General Forbes in his expedition against Fort Duquesne.

With memories of Fort Necessity, the scene of his first and only surrender, and of the disaster at Braddock's Field, rankling within him, we can safely assume that this, his fourth call to the western country sounded like music to his ears.

Our limitations prevent us from describing this expedition further than to say that a decided difference arose between Col. Washington and Col. Bouquet as to the route to be followed. A new road was cut through the wilderness known as the Forbes Road against the protest of Washington. He asserted, and no doubt he was right, that the expedition could have reached its objective and accomplished the reduction of Fort Duquesne many months earlier had the Braddock road been followed. However like the good soldier he was, his energies were thrown into the work of cutting through the well known and established Trail and the army moved on its tedious journey. The story of the advance party being sent out and of the battle of Grant's Hill, near where the Court House now stands is one of the thrilling incidents of the expedition. An incident is told of the rout at Grant's Hill by Thurston in his "Allegheny County's Hundred Years" that as Major Lewis was advancing with his men he met a Scotch Highlander under full flight and on inquiring of him how the battle was going, the battle stricken soldier replied "They were a' beaten and he had seen Donald McDonald up to his hunkers in mud, and a' the skin off his heed."

As the main body neared its destination we are told that it crossed Turtle Creek where Murraysville now stands and encamped for the night on the hill near the present town of Pitcairn, and that from this point the smoke was seen following the blowing up of the magazine at Fort Duquesne that was followed by its evacuation by the French. One writer tells us that Col. Washington mounted the British flag on the remains of the fortress on the 25th day of November, 1758. Whether this be literally true or not, it is

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however undisputed that he reached Fort Duquesne and from Camp at Fort Duquesne November 28, 1758, wrote to Gov. Farqueiur who had succeeded Gov. Dinwiddie in these words. "I have the pleasure to inform you that Fort Duquesne, or the ground upon which it stood, was possessed by his majesty's troops on the 25th inst." and adds "This fortunate, and indeed, unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects." When this was written he no doubt was filled with joy when he recalled Fort Necessity and Braddock's defeat in 1758 and his disappointment in the campaign of 1754.

The fifth call to the western country came to him in 1770. It was primarily to inspect and mark out bounty lands on the Ohio for the men of his Virginia Regiment, but later developments justify the belief that the great question of inland water ways was burdening his mind at the time.

He left Mount Vernon on October 5th, in company with Dr. Craik, three servants and a led horse carrying baggage. We are told that on the 14th he was at Captain Crawford's at Stewart's Crossing (Connellsville) all day, and that he went to see a coal mine, not far from Crawford's house, on the bank of the river, and that the coal seemed of the very best kind, burning freely and abundance of it.

On October 17, 1770, for the third time he reached Pittsburgh. It is interesting to note that Col. Burd had opened a road to Redstone Creek, and in his journal we are told that near Dunbar's camp in Fayette County, he marked two trees at the place of beginning thus "The road to Redstone Col. J. Burd 1759, The road to Pittsburgh 1759." From this it would appear that Fort Pitt was at that early date known as Pittsburgh, although there were, by best accounts, only a few bark and log cabins scattered about the fort.

In his journal of this trip Washington says: "Lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort at one Mr. Semple's who keeps a very good house of entertainment." We are told that this house was at the present Ferry and Water Streets, built in 1764 by Col. George Morgan and that it was the first shingle roofed house and also that it was in this house that Aaron Burr stopped on his way to Blennerhasset Island. On the 18th the narrative continued, "Dined in the fort with Col. Croghan and

officers of the garrison; supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Col. Croghan the next day at his seat about four miles up the Allegheny." We are told by Craig in his recollection of the location of this place that it was "on the east side of the Allegheny River nearly opposite to where Mr. McCandless is now residing. To be more precise, it was on the lot which is on our right when we first reach the Allegheny, when going from Lawrenceville up towards Sharpsburg." To him at that time it may have been precise, but after the lapse of years, it is an explanation that does not explain.

At this place on the 19th through an appointment made with Col. Croghan he was met at eleven o'clock by White Mingo and other chiefs, and after the customary gift of a string of wampum was addressed, in part, as follows, according to the journal. "That I was a person whom some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an embassy to the French, and most of them have heard of, they were come to bid me welcome to this country, and desire that the people of Virginia would consider them as friends and brothers, and further stated their fears that we did not look upon them with so friendly an eye as they could wish."

Washington answered this address in his customary tactful manner, in which he gave assurance of Virginia's desire for friendship with them and that he would convey their desires to the Governor.

After dining with Col. Croghan, he returned with his party, including his host, to Pittsburgh, no doubt to Semple's tavern and completed arrangements for his journey down the Ohio. On the 20th he embarked in a large canoe as he tells us

> "With sufficient stores of provisions and necessaries, and the following person besides Dr. Craik and myself, to wit; Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan and Daniel Rendon, a boy of Captain Crawford's and the Indians who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawford's with orders to meet us there again on the 14th day of November. Colonel Croghan Lieutenant Hamilton and Magee (evidently McKee) set out with us. At two we dined at Magee's and encamped ten miles below and

four miles above Logstown. We passed several large islands which appeared to be very good, as the bottoms, also did on each side of the river alternately; the hills on one side being opposite the bottoms on the other, which seem generally to be about three or four hundred yards wide, and so vice versa."

This description fits accurately the topography of the hills and bottoms as we see them today as we descend that part of the Ohio of which he was writing. It is another evidence of the accurate and comprehensive observations that he made in his several journeys to the western country.

We left Washington at Logstown, in describing his expedition in 1753, so we now leave him in the vicinity of the same town, without undertaking to describe his interesting trip to the lower Ohio and tributaries but content ourselves by picking him up, so to speak, as he reached Fort Pitt, November 21st, upon his return. He tells us again, quoting from his journal.

"22nd. Stayed at Pittsburgh all day. Invited the officers and some other gentlemen to dinner with me at Semple's"; and of the next day he says, "After settling with the Indians and the people that attended us down the river, and defraying the sundry expenses accruing at Pittsburgh I set off on my return home; and after dining at the widow Mier's on Turtle Creek reached Mr. John Stephenson's in the night".

The rest of the trip was made without special incident and ended on December 1, 1770.

We have thus far engaged your attention by an outline of the several expeditions of the young man who was soon to be called into a field of service that has rendered his name immortal, and to some of the incidents of the several journeys. These trips are of interest from an historical standpoint. We hope to show that they were of interest and had a strong influence upon subsequent commercial activities of this section of the country.

That he had great confidence in the possibilities of this new and hitherto undeveloped country, there can be no reasonable doubt; that he realized the importance of an adequate inland waterway system as most effective in such development is equally certain; and that he did more than any other

man of his day in centralizing the attention of others as to the great possibilities is equally true.

His marked interest in navigation and transportation is shown to us in his writings immediately after the Revolutionary War, some of which, at least, are preserved to us. To Richard Henry Lee, he writes from Philadelphia on July 19, 1797. "I have been of opinion that the policy of the Atlantic States, instead of contending prematurely for the free navigation of that river_____ (one of those on the Eastern coast)_____ would be to open and improve natural communications with the western country through which the produce of it might be transported to our markets."

He says to Thomas Jefferson in a letter of January 1, 1788.

> "I received your favor of the 14th of August and am sorry that it is not in my power to give any further information relative to the practicability of opening a communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio, than you are already possessed of. I have made frequent inquiries since the time of your writing at Annapolis, but could never collect anything that was decided or satisfactory, and flatter myself with better prospects.
>
> The accounts generally agree as to its being a flat country between the waters of Lake Erie and the Big Beaver, but differ much with respect to the distance between their sources, their navigation, and the inconvenience which would attend the cutting of a canal between them." We might observe, at this point, that were we to consult those who have been making an heroic struggle for a ship canal from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie, in recent years, we would undoubtedly learn that opinions still differ. The letter continues. "From the best information I have been able to obtain of that country, the source of the Muskingum and Cayahoga approach nearer to each other than the Big Beaver, but a communication through the Muskingum would be more circuitous and difficult * * *. The distance between the Lake Erie and the Ohio through the Big Beaver is however so much less than the route through the Muskingum, that it would in my opinion operate more strongly in favor of opening a canal between the sources of the nearest water of Lake Erie and the Big Beaver, although the distance between them should be

much greater and the operation more difficult than to Muskingum, as it is the direct line to the nearest shipping port on the Atlantic".

Another letter to Jefferson dated February 13, 1789, dwells on the same subject and refers to the fact that his utmost endeavors had failed to produce, as he says, "precise information respecting the nearest and best communication between the Ohio and Lake Erie" but the determination within the man to procure the desired information, from reasonably authentic sources is best shown in a letter to Richard Butler written from Mt. Vernon and bearing date of January 10, 1788 in which he says:

"As you have had opportunities of gaining extensive knowledge and information respecting the western territory, its situation, rivers, and the face of the country, I must beg the favor of you, my dear sir, to resolve the following queries, either from your knowledge or certain information, as well to gratify my own curiosity, as to enable me to satisfy several gentlemen of distinction in other countries who have applied to me for information upon the subject.

"1. What is the face of the country between the sources of canoe navigation of the Cayahoga, which empties itself into Lake Erie, and the Big Beaver, and between the Cayahoga and the Muskingum?

"2. The distance between the waters of the Cayahoga to each of the two rivers above mentioned?

"3. Would it be practicable, and not very expensive, to cut a canal between the Cayahoga and either of the above rivers, so as to open a communication between the waters of Lake Erie and the Ohio?

"4. Whether there is any more direct, practicable, and easy communication than these between the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Ohio, by which the fur and peltry of the upper Ohio can be transported?"

We have outlined the several journeys made to the Western Country by this brave and farsighted youth. We have outlined his views with relation to the development of the territory at and adjacent to Pittsburgh.

It is worthy of note that the very first description of the forks of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers comes from his pen, and that from the same pen is given to the country, for the first time, the need and possibilities of improved waterways as a means of this development. What reply was received to his letter to Colonel Butler is not found in the records, but it is significant that in the early thirties his vision of this development was realized in the construction and operation for many years of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal, the Erie Canal, opening up a channel of commerce from Lake Erie to the Big Beaver River, at the site of the present City of Beaver, and other canals, all of which contributed largely to Pittsburgh's greatness and advantage as a commercial center.

It is also worthy of note that in keeping the views of Washington, the construction of a ship canal from the Big Beaver River to Lake Erie, has in recent years, and is now, commanding with splendid prospects of consummation, the attention and energies of many of the most progressive men of the present day.

Following the events herein narrated, Washington was called to be chief magistrate of the nation, and it is fairly to be presumed that with this greater opportunity for service, he maintained his interests in the development of the territory so often referred to by him as the Western Country and contributed much to its accomplishment.

A study of the personality which he possessed, and of his activities in the interest of extended commerce, not only in this locality but elsewhere, followed by the results that have been achieved, leads us to accord to him preeminence as a nation-builder, and to the conclusion that in no small measure his greatness had descended to the people.

THE CRITICAL PERIOD IN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

By

JOHN P. PENNY*

Critical periods are the cross-roads where nations hesitate as to which way to go, but as a rule there are two ways to go and the hesitation is caused by doubt and fear as to the choice. That was the case in the three critical periods of the United States, but not so with Pennsylvania, whose critical period was caused by the most remarkable combination of unfortunate conditions ever recorded in this country, leaving the State like a ship, in a storm, without captain or pilot, the crew in mutiny and the machinery broken.

On the wall in a corridor in the Capitol at Washington, framed, hangs a mosaic. The artist has entitled it "The Critical Period of American History" and has put the scene at a small stone bridge on a mountain roadway near Granada, Spain. Columbus, mounted, with his servant leading a pack mule, dejectedly returning from an unsuccessful ten days' conference at court. They hear the rapid beating of hoofs behind them, fearing a robber and preparing for defense. The rider suddenly coming upon them, reining his horse back, and raising his hand denoting that he was a friend, telling them he was a messenger from the court, that Columbus was to return and be given a reconsideration of his plan for a westward passage to Cathay. It was hardly a critical period, but our history starts from that little stone bridge in the mountains west of Granada, Spain, and it is three hundred years to the next critical period, which occurred on Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Smith very graphically portrays to us in our last month's magazine, the conditions surrounding the signing of the Constitution of the United States. After the Revolutionary War, the Thirteen Colonies were on the verge of a

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on March 28, 1922.

civil war. Nothing could save them but a constitution. Civil war would produce anarchy very rapidly, which would be followed by monarchy, the last resort of anarchy. Entirely unable to agree, a motion to adjourn was seconded but failed, on the appeal of the venerable Franklin, for another day. The result of Franklin's appeal was a constitution.

The next Critical Period was the election of Abraham Lincoln. Had he not been elected, civil war again would have been inevitable, a partial state of civil war then existing. Lincoln's election was followed by rebellion, and rebellion is not as dangerous to a nation as civil war. Nations are usually better than ever after rebellion, but civil war is a wasting disease that kills. Three weeks after Lincoln's election South Carolina seceded and established an embassy in Washington, which was closed the day Lincoln was inaugurated and a few weeks later, the dust was rising in every loyal State from the marching columns that saved the Union.

Pennsylvania's Critical Period, as I have said, was caused by a remarkable combination of unfortunate accidents at a very bad time. The Constitution of 1838 did not provide for a Lieutenant Governor but provided that the Speaker of the Senate should succeed the Governor in case of his incapacity or death. When the Senate convened under that Constitution they organized and elected a speaker. For some reason they considered that the speaker should only serve during that session. No one knows where they got that idea. The Constitution gave no such thought. It provided that the Senate should be a permanent body constituted of two-thirds constantly, one-third being elected each term. But that was the construction they placed upon it, and when the session came to a close the speaker who had served, considered it the dignified thing to do, to leave the platform, and take his seat at his desk on the floor, leaving the Senate staring at an empty chair on an empty platform. The only official of the Senate then was the clerk, and the clerk said, "Gentlemen, we are without a Speaker. We need a speaker for the recess." In case anything should happen to the Governor someone must be in a position to take his place, then nominations were made for a speaker to serve during the recess. At the end of the recess and at the beginning of the next session, the regular session, this speaker

considered it the dignified thing to do to remain on the floor, and they all sat down again looking at an empty chair on an empty platform, and the clerk repeated the statement that they were without a speaker for the session, and so on.

This was the condition that had existed for twenty-six years and it worked all right until something happened. Sometimes things happen that no one can forecast. A story told by a distinguished neighbor of mine, Dr. Robert Christie, of the North Side, in a sermon he preached one day, illustrated this very clearly. As a child in Scotland his father had often taken him walking through a long avenue of trees, calling his attention to their beauty, their uprightness, reading him many lectures drawn from them and as he grew older, he became very much in love with those trees and always promptly visited them on his repeated returns to Scotland. Upon his last visit prior to the War, in 1912, he hastened out to see these grand trees and walk through that beautiful avenue again. To his astonishment and horror they were gone. He could not account for it. He knew no one in Scotland would be allowed to raise a hand against these trees that had been there for two hundred years, and he hastened to find out what had happened. Finding the Caretaker of the grounds, who told him of a storm that had blown them down about six months prior to that. The Doctor said "My father told me when I was a child that they were two hundred years old. Do you mean to say that a greater storm struck Scotland in the past year than ever has struck it in the two hundred and fifty years before?" "No," the caretaker said, "It was not much of a storm. I have seen many worse, but our storms all come from the northeast, and this storm came from the south. Those trees had been trained from infancy to support themselves against storms coming from the northeast, but when a storm of any violence struck them from the south they were not prepared and they went down.

You can see the splendid point the Doctor had for his sermon on Christian character. And so it was with the Senate's idea of working under the constitution of 1838. A great storm had sprung up from the south and for three years it beat against these northern states beating down men and institutions and constitutions until it rolled over the border of

Pennsylvania, and the flames of Chambersburg, and the roar of Great Gettysburg could be seen and heard from the Capitol steps. If you stand on the Gettysburg field, in front of that great open book of Bronze and read its inscription "Here the high tide of rebellion was rolled back", and you think of those three Pennsylvania generals, Meade, Reynolds and Hancock, standing on their own soil, in command of troops from all the loyal states from Maine to Iowa, forming that wall of granite with its gates of brass, you should give a thought to the great Governor Curtin and the men and women in civil and political life in those awful days who mended the sails and stopped the leaks and did their part toward keeping the ship of state afloat. And tonight a thought of the man who had the courage to take his place alone on the burning deck and hold the broken helm of the ship.

To return to the great Governor. In 1860, Andrew Gregg Curtin was elected Governor of Pennsylvania. Forty-four years old, youthful in appearance, with an elastic step, boyish manner and waving black hair, he made his inaugural address three weeks ahead of the famous inaugural address of Lincoln, so it fell to him to make the first public expression as to the conduct of the North and the position of a leading northern state in the great crisis then confronting the country. At the first sound of rebellion Curtin sprang forth instantly as a leader, calling all the northern governors to meet him at Altoona and pledge their support to the national government. From that day he labored day and night both for the troops, for the maintenance of the Union, and to hold Pennsylvania in its place as the *Keystone* of the national arch. In three years his hair was grayed, his step was tottering, he was broken physically, and constantly under the care of two New York physicians, fearing he would not live to finish his administration. President Lincoln told him if he would only stay until the end of his term, he would give him a first-class mission abroad where he could recover his health in a mild climate. Very much delighted, the Governor announced to the people that he would not run for re-election, that he was going abroad on a first-class mission. The people and the political leaders realized full well, how much the increase of the peace-at-any-price party had been, how

many men had developed an idea of compromise, and that 75,000 loyal Pennsylvania voters were disfranchised in the army, saw the danger of trying to elect another leader against such conditions, as well as the impression on the country. And in spite of the Governor's statement he was re-nominated. His wife pleaded with him in tears to not accept the nomination, telling him he would certainly die if he attempted it. His reply was, "Other men are dying for this cause and why not I?" At which Mrs. Curtin dried her tears, came to the support of her husband and assisted him all she could during the campaign. He was elected by a 15,000 majority. He was unable to prepare his inaugural address. It was written by Colonel McClure in Chambersburg. He was just able to deliver it on the platform and to be assisted to his residence, where he was constantly under the care of his physicians until they decided that to save his life, he must be taken south to Cuba. President Lincoln had Secretary Wells of the Navy, send a war vessel to Philadelphia, Governor Curtin was carrier on board on a cot, and under strong convoy the boat sailed out on a hostile sea, and the people of Pennsylvania did not know whether their governor had died on Delaware Bay, or on the sea, or had been landed in Cuba safely.

In the meantime, the speaker of the Senate who had been elected to serve during the recess reported to Harrisburg promptly to perform such duties as would come to him should anything happen to the governor. He saw the change the election had made in the complexion of the Legislature and of the Senate. He saw that great loyal men had lost their seats and many men for compromise had taken their places. He saw that the two great parties in the Senate were almost equally divided, on the one side seventeen senators and on the other sixteen, and at that time the news came from the Shenandoah Valley that one of those seventeen senators had been captured by the enemy at Winchester, and was a prisoner of war in Libby. Major White, a loyal son of Indiana County, had been elected Senator while he was in the service and had almost immediately been captured. All efforts to exchange him were without avail.

This was the condition confronting the representative of the Governor, Speaker of the Senate, when the Senate con-

vened. To have followed the old custom of sitting down and looking at an empty chair, and having the Clerk ask for an election, would be impossible. There were sixteen of each party present, and had word of the Governor's death, reached the Senate, there would have been no one to take his place. Realizing this, the Speaker went on to the platform and said. "Gentlemen, considering the conditions confronting us, our Governor, as you know, in a state of health which may at any moment bring to us the sad intelligence of his death, an equal number of both parties on the floor in front of me, a great war raging—under these conditions I consider it my duty to depart from the custom of leaving the Chair, but to remain your Speaker until my successor is elected, and in the event of a tie vote, to perform such duties for the Governor as may come to me to perform, and to succeed him as Governor in case the sad news of his death reaches us. I sincerely trust that you will hasten to an agreement in electing my successor, and relieve me from this most embarrassing position. I have all along believed that this idea of the Speaker leaving his chair before his successor was elected, had no being in point of law, nor according to the Constitution. The time has come when it should be corrected, and I hope you will proceed at once to the election of my successor. Is it your wish to enter into an election at this time?" There were sixteen Nos and sixteen Ayes, and the great deadlock started. All motions were met with sixteen Nos and sixteen Ayes. All efforts were made without avail and the days went into weeks and the weeks into months, and the storm raged on the floor, and around the speaker, who with perfect confidence in the legality of his position, remained undisturbed at his post.

In the meantime Senator White in Libby Prison came across a newspaper printed on wall paper, a copy of which I hold in my hand, in which there was the statement that the Senate of Pennsylvania was locked and the key was in Libby Prison. He proposed to unlock it. Talking to his fellow-prisoners, they all agreed that if any exchange should be ordered and any one of them selected, they would give their place to him, knowing that he never would be allowed to be exchanged. Finally an exchange of doctors was ordered, and Dr. William S. Hosick, of the North Side, Pittsburgh,

then a prisoner of war, agreed to have Major White take his place, and taking a dose of medicine which he knew would make him violently ill at the time the prisoners were to fall in. White fell into Dr. Hosick's place and left the prison, was put on board a boat on the James River, taken down to City Point where he saw the American flag flying, just as a Confederate officer signaled to them from the bank and came aboard, announcing that he had received intelligence that a man not entitled to exchange was among the prisoners to be exchanged, and if he did not make himself known at once, no exchange would be made. White promptly stepped forward, declared himself as being the one, was put in irons and sent below, taken back to Richmond, put in prison in the dungeon. The disappointment and his long imprisonment so broke him down that he nearly went wild, he rapped on the floor calling to the prisoners above that if he did not hear their voices, he would go crazy. They pulled up a board and talked to him, assured him that he was entirely too valuable to be killed. If he should be executed, that would break the deadlock in the Pennsylvania Senate.

Then he decided that the thing to do was secretly to resign if he could get a resignation secretly out of prison. Dr. Hosick came forward again and supplied him with some paper. He wrote a resignation to the Speaker of the Senate. I have a copy here, which was concealed under the back of the binding of a Bible, and another letter to his father, which was concealed inside the body of a large brass button, then worn on the blouse. Dr. Hosick, his companion, having been exchanged, was exchanged and left the prison soon after, with the Bible in his hand, and the button on his blouse, reached the Union lines and immediately made his way to Indiana, delivered his letter to Judge White, the father of the Major. He immediately sent the resignation to Harrisburg where it was accepted as the official resignation of the Senator from Indiana. An election ordered and held. Dr. St. Clair was promptly elected in Major White's place, hurried to Harrisburg taking his seat the next morning. The motion that they proceed to an election was passed, the Speaker who had been the storm center for months, was promptly re-elected to succeed himself for the full term of the regular session, and so with the machinery repaired,

the crew at work, the same hand at the helm, our ship of State, steamed on through the storm, until, "the shouting and the tumult ceased, the Captains and the troops withdrew, but still stands. Thine ancient sacrifice, lest we forget, lest we forget."

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES

By

CAPTAIN JOHN H. NIEBAUM

(Continued from the October, 1921 number)

PART IV.
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF MEMBERS OF THE BLUES

Gen. Richard Butler, father of Captain James R. Butler was one of the most distinguished Pennsylvania officers of the Revolutionary Army, and the eldest of five brothers, designated by Washington as the "Five Butlers, a gallant band of Patriotic Brothers." Gen. Butler was in continuous service throughout the Revolutionary war, part of the time as lieutenant colonel of Morgan's famous rifle regiment. He distinguished himself at Saratoga and Monmouth and led one of the two storming parties at the taking of Stony Point. He was present with his regiment in the operations on the James River and at the capture of Cornwallis. He was second in command under St. Clair in his expedition against the Indians in 1791, and was killed in the disastrous fight on the Miami River on the 4th of November of that year.

Capt. James R. Butler, who commanded the Pittsburgh Blues in the War of 1812, was a son of Gen. Richard Butler and was born in the old log house on Marbury Street. When his Company was about to start on its long wilderness march to the Wabash country he took it along Marbury Street, where his aged mother was still living, and calling a halt there, walked up the steps to the door, where she was standing, to bid her farewell. On leaving her she said in a clear voice, words which were distinctly heard and long remembered by the men:

"My son, remember, that you are a Butler. Keep that name ever in honor. Farewell, God Bless you"!

In 1810 Captain Butler was a member of the firm of Bean & Butler in the warehouse and commission business on Front, between Wood and Market streets. On May 7, 1812,

he became a member of Brown, Barker & Butler, dealers in hardware, and was elected Captain of the Eagle Fire Company. Later he became custodian of the Allegheny U. S. Arsenal and held that position for a long period. He was of commanding figure and distinguished appearance, usually wearing a long military cloak in season. He took an active interest in all civil and public affairs; was a member of the first City Council of Pittsburgh, elected July 2, 1816; also a director of the Bank of Pittsburgh in 1819. In 1820 he was one of the executors of the estate of General O'Hara, deceased.

February 21, 1821, he was appointed prothonotary of Allegheny county. In 1826 he was captain of the Pittsburgh Light Artillery, resigning February, 1830. His active and useful life closed April 30, 1842, in the Allegheny Arsenal, of which he had been appointed military storekeeper by President Monroe. His body was interred in the Trinity Church burying ground. The *Morning Chronicle* of April 30, 1842, says Col. Trovillo ordered out the uniformed Pittsburgh Battalion of Pennsylvania Militia for the funeral. The line marched to Trinity Churchyard in the following order: Nine survivors of the Pittsburg Blues, Irish Greens, Allegheny Fencibles, Jackson Blues, Duquesne Greys, Allegheny Light Cavalry, Washington Guards, Jackson Guards, German Guards, and Artillery, U. S. A.

The pall bearers (old Pittsburgh Blues) were Col. E. Trovillo, John Park, Major N. Patterson, John D. Davis, John Davis, E. F. Pratt, Capt. Willock and Geo. V. Robinson. There were 104 carriages, and citizens on foot, and horsemen. All survivors, with one exception, attended the funeral. Masses of people assembled all along the route of march.

Col. Butler was an unobtrusive character and fully appreciated, by those that knew him, for every trait that enobles American character. Seldom has the greensward covered a more exemplary one.

First Lieutenant Mathew J. Magee made a trip home on official business on January 13, 1813, and carried letters and packages back to the boys. He was an expert tactician and drill master. Commanded the Pittsburgh Blues in part of the fighting at Fort Meigs during the temporary illness

at the post of Captain Butler. After returning from active service he joined the regulars and was commissioned captain and major in the Fourth U. S. Rifle Regiment, and was in charge of the recruiting rendezvous at Pittsburgh. His death occurred in 1826.

Ensign James Irwin was the only son of Colonel John Irwin. After serving one year with the Blues in the Northwestern Army he organized the second company of Pittsburgh Blues and started for Baltimore with a company of 70 volunteers for service in the east. They were on the march about one week when they were recalled, their services not being needed. He died January 7, 1818, mourned by a host of friends and was buried with military honors in the First Presbyterian burial ground.

First Sergeant Elijah Trovillo after the war was a colonel of Pennsylvania militia. He was the soldier of whom it is written that he kept on cooking his meal, while an Indian in a tree outside the lines at Fort Meigs kept peppering away at him with his gun, but without effect. This was certainly a brave but foolish act. April 23, 1819, Trovillo was appointed paymaster of the 28th Regt. P. M. January 8, 1824, he was captain of the City Guards. May 28, 1834, was colonel commanding the Pittsburgh Legion, which consisted of a uniformed battalion of Pittsburgh volunteer militia.

Second Sergeant Isaac Williams was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813.

Third Sergeant John Willock was wounded at Fort Meigs May 9, 1813. He became a major in the Pennsylvania militia in 1821.

Fourth Sergeant George Haven was of the business firm of Irwin & Haven, with a store located at Market & Diamond streets. He also had a hat store later.

First Corporal Nathaniel Patterson became a major in the 28th Regiment Pennsylvania militia. Was major and Brigade Inspector in 1821. His son, John W. Patterson, served during the Mexican War in the Jackson Blues. Later joined the Washington Infantry, in 1855, and was killed while Colonel of the 102nd Pennsylvania Infantry in the battle of the Wilderness, 1864.

Third Corporal Samuel Elliott was wounded at Mississineway Dec. 18, 1812.

Fourth Corporal Israel B. Reed was wounded at Mississineway Dec. 18, 1812.

Daniel C. Boss was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813.

Isaac Chess was wounded at Mississineway December 18, 1912.

Thomas Dobbins was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813.

John D. Davis was an auctioneer in Pittsburgh after returning from service.

Joseph Dodd was a native of Massachusetts. Wounded at Mississineway. Died at Fort Meigs June 18, 1813. He had endeared himself to a large circle of friends during his residence of several years in Pittsburgh by his cheerful manners and affable deportment. His remains were buried at Fort Meigs.

Corporal Samuel Elliott was wounded at Mississineway December 18 1812.

John Francis was killed at Mississineway December 18, 1812.

Samuel Graham died September 25, 1815, in Pittsburgh, aged 29 years. Was buried with military honors by the Pittsburgh Blues. He had conducted himself as a soldier and a man, in active service in scenes of difficulty and danger.

Oliver McKee was wounded at Fort Meigs May 28, 1813. Died next day.

Robert McNeal, last survivor of the Pittsburgh Blues in service in 1812-1813, died in Pittsburgh in 1884.

James Newman, promoted to Sergeant while in service, was killed at Fort Meigs May 5, 1913.

Pressley J. Neville was promoted to sergeant while in service.

John Park was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813. He was a member of the firm of Smith & Park, watchmakers and silversmiths.

John Pollard was born in Virginia, near Richmond, in 1789. He sprained an ankle during the fight at Fort Meigs but never had a pension. Reenlisted in 1814. Commissioned Captain. Detailed to carry ammunition and supplies from Pittsburgh to General Jackson at New Orleans via the rivers

on keelboats. Returned on foot with several of his men, the trip taking three months, carrying their guns and subsisting largely on game. He died in 1832. He was a kind, generous and provident father and husband, patriotic, and a leader without arrogance.

Charles Pentland, author of the diary giving the exact daily movements of the Blues, making the most valuable record of the company's active service, was a son of Major Ephriam Pentland, one of the most prominent public men of the time in Pittsburgh and the state. He died in 1833.

Edward F. Pratt became a captain in the Pennsylvania militia after his service in the Northwestern campaign.

William Richardson was killed at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813.

Chas. Wahrendorf was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813. Promoted to quartermaster sergeant in service. Was merchant in Pittsburgh and advertised staple and fancy goods, dry goods, jewelry and hardware, imported from Germany after a trip to Europe. Moved to St. Louis, where he engaged in business. He died Sept. 4, 1831. He was a native of Hanover, Germany. The survivors of the Blues held a meeting in Pittsburgh. Capt. Butler presided and passed resolutions of sympathy to Wahrendorff's family, and resolved to wear crepe on the left arm for 30 days.

George S. Wilkins promoted May, 1813.

LINES ON THE DEATH OF JAMES NEWMAN

(These lines, on the death of Jas. Newman, of the Pittsburgh Blues were found in an old school book by N. Vernon, Frederick City, Md.)

Behold yon band whose lightning gleams afar;
'Tis Butler's corps, so lately crowned with fame;
By Freedom roused they bravely lead the war,
And pluck the honors of a spotless name
On Maumee's banks they met their steel clad foes,
Loud shouts proclaim the contest now begun;
With bayonets fixed they front to front oppose,
Whilst clouds of smoke obscure the distant sun.

* * * * * * *

Curst war away! Let peace return once more;
Come, gentle peace, we'll meet thy fond embrace;
Thou hast the means our blessings to restore,
And raise again the smile on beauty's face.

The following poem was found among old papers of the Ferree family, and credited to Jacob Ferree Jr. aged 18 years by Cora A. Weber Lindsay, a descendant of the Ferree's. Colonel Joel Ferree commanded the First Pennsylvania regiment and Captain Jeremiah Ferree had command of a company in the same infantry regiment in the northwestern army of General Harrison and served in the same outfit with the Pittsburgh Blues

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES.

By JACOB FERREE, JR.

Farewell peace! Another crisis
Calls us to the last appeal,
Made when monarchs and their vices
Leave no argument but steel.
When injustice and oppression,
Dare avow the tyrant's plea
Who would recommend submission?
Virtue bids us to be free.

History spreads her flag before us,
Time enrolls her ample scroll,
Truth unfolds to assure us,
States united ne'er will fall.
See in annals, Greek and Roman,
What immortal deeds we find,
When those gallant sons of freemen
In their country's cause combine.

Sons of freemen have descended
From a race of heroes tried;
To preserve our Independence,
Let all Europe be defied,
Let not all the world united
Rob us of our sacred right.
Every patriot's heart delighted,
In this country's call to fight.

Come then, war! With hearts elated
To thy standard we will fly,
Every bosom animated,
Either to live free or die.
May the wretch that shrinks from duty
Or deserts the glorious strife
Never know the smile of beauty,
Or the blessing of a wife.

ERRATA.

In the April 1921 number, was published the roster of the Blues, and after the name of John Marcy it reads: "Discharged for disobedience." This should read "Discharged for disability."

LIST OF REFERENCES AND NOTES.

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George T. Fleming.

THE END.

NOTES AND QUERIES

REGARDING THE SALE OF CERTAIN PROPERTIES BELONGING TO FORT PITT.

An interesting communication was received a short time ago from Edmund Hayes Bell of Washington, D. C., relating to the various items of property belonging to Fort Pitt and sold by the British upon its abandonment by them, the matter being recalled to the writer's mind by reading the article on Fort Pitt, recently published in this magazine. Mr. Bell's letter inclosing a number of papers refered to there is dated May 22, 1922, and is printed in full herewith. The papers follow:

I have been interested in the History of Fort Pitt which has lately been published in your magazine. Perhaps the most important Pennsylvanian who had some connection with Fort Pitt was General William Thompson, and if the people who are looking for further facts concerning the Fort will search for the correspondence of General Thompson I am sure they will find in it a chapter of Fort Pitt history as yet unwritten. I am inclosing herewith copies of some papers relating to the Fort. The identity of the William Thompson who is recorded as joint purchaser with Alexander Ross from the British Government seems to have been unknown to your historian; also the fact that Dr. Edward Hand, Adjutant General of the Continental Army, was party to the purchase. It is true, Alexander Ross, a Scotchman born and closely associated with Lord Dunmore, and never anything but a British subject, fled from Pittsburgh in the summer of 1776, first to New Orleans by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, then to Pensacola, Florida, and from that port to London, and lost his large American property by so doing; but there never was any question of the loyalty to the revolting American Colonies of General William Thompson and Edward Hand, and their interest in Fort Pitt could not possibly have been jeopardized by the actions of Alexander Ross. Few of the patriots made more sacrifices than Thompson who most unfortunately was made a prisoner by the British at the battle of Three Rivers, near Quebec, in June 1776 and was not exchanged until 1780. He died at his home near Carlisle, Pennsylvania, September 3rd, 1781, a victim of the hardships he had endured, universally regretted as a brave soldier and a sincere patriot. I also inclose copy of Washington's letter to General Thompson, in March 1776, congratulating him on his promotion.

Pennsylvania should take just pride in this now almost forgotten soldier, for he was the first colonel of the famous regiment of riflemen, raised in Pennsylvania in the summer of 1775 to join Washington's Army before Boston. Thompson received the first colonel's commission issued by the United States and his regiment became the first regiment of the American Army on the organization of the Continental Line on January 1st, 1776. They were the first troops

from any of the Colonies south of New England to respond to the call of the Continental Congress. George Thompson, General Thompson's eldest son, who studied law with Judge Jasper Yeates at Lancaster, was one of the first judges of the Court of Allegheny County, appointed February 26th, 1796, and died a judge on your bench, January 12th, 1807. * His second son, Capt. Robert Thompson, a soldier like his father, was wounded at St. Clair's defeat and participated in Wayne's victory over the Indians. He resigned from the Army in 1799 and died a few years later at Natchez, Mississippi. I may find more facts concerning Fort Pitt in the Thompson papers in my possession, in which case will be glad to advise you.

Letters from General Washington at Cambridge, Mass., to General William Thompson, at New York, dated March 27th, 1776.

Sir:

Lord Sterling, in his letter of the 20th instant, has informed me of your arrival at New York to take command of the Army there. I take this opportunity of congratulating you on your promotion, and am vastly pleased that the Congress have anticipated my application in your favor, which was dated the 7th instant. I have now to inform you that the fleet have, within a few hours, left Nantucket Road and on the morrow another brigade will march from here under the command of General Sullivan; very soon, if nothing occurs I cannot at present foresee.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

George Washington.

To

General Thompson.

P. S.—General Putnam will set off tomorrow or next day, and if General Schuyler is absent, will take command of the troops.

I do hereby acknowledge that Doctor Edward Hand of Lancaster, in the Province of Pennsylvania, is equally concerned with Alexander Ross, Esq. of Pittsburgh in said Province and myself in the purchase of the ruins of Fort Pitt and its dependancies, the brick Redoubt near the town of Pittsburgh and the wood redoubts that stood on the Allegheny River only excepted. As witness my hand at the Continental Camp, near Cambridge, the twenty-first day of August A. D., 1775.

(Signed) Wm. Thompson.

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* Upon the reorganization of the Pennsylvania courts under the constitution of 1790, Allegheny County became attached to the Fifth Judicial District, consisting of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny counties. Alexander Addison was the first President Judge continuing as such until his removal by impeachment on January 27, 1803. He was succeeded by Judge Samuel Roberts who held the office until his death on December 13, 1820. George Thompson, although a lawyer, having been among the first nine men to be admitted to the Allegheny County bar, was one of the lay associate judges for this county .

Alexander Ross, Pittsburgh, to William Thompson, Carlisle.

Pittsburgh, November 24th, 1772.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 13th instant by Mr. Spear, I have just now received, and I am sorry to find you are prevented from coming here this winter. Your not being able to attend at the demolishing of the Fort has been of great loss to us, as it was impossible for me to give the necessary attendance, as I was so much engaged with settling my own and the contractors affairs—however, notwithstanding all that has been plundered from us, I hope there will be enough secured to make the Bargain worth our whiles.

I cannot suppose it's in Capt. St. Clairs power to prevent our Bargain taking place; at any rate, we will not take his word for it. The Governor's House is demolished which will be something considerable to us, and removes the object St. Clair had in view; which was to get a grant of that. If it had been left stand'g Colo. Croghen wou'd have had it, as it was the Generals orders, that he should have the best appartments in the Fort. I have picketted in a yard in order to Secure the Plank & Scantling, and I shall when I leave this, (which by the bye, I cannot now say when that will be) give the charge of everything to my clerk, who is extremely careful.

I have done everything in my power to preserve our Property, and I shall be most confoundedly disappointed, if I am obliged to give it up. The words appurtenances are not mentioned in the Bill of Sale, but I have the pleasure to inform you, that I have purchas'd on our accounts all the Gardens & Orchard &c. for £35. which I think a good bargain altho' the title is rather———— but the Improvements & the time they have had possession constitutes in my opinion a very good right—at any rate I did it with a good intention, and I hope you will approve of it. I expect you will write me, & let me know the success of St. Clairs negotiation. I hear Galbraith is gone off, but I hope you have secured the money in Mr. Blains hand, but on this subject you are silent. I beg my most afft. compliments to Mrs. Thompson. Remember me to the young ones, and assure yourself that I sincerely am Dr. Sir,

Your afft. Friend

Alexander Ross.

P.S.—If Mr. Andrew Ross is with you, Please make my Compliments to him.

Your friend Sample declares that you shall not rebuild your Redoubt, and will not suffer any workman to work upon it—you will therefore no doubt advise me how to act in this affair.

I do hereby certify that I was under the Necessity of taking Possession of Fort Pitt & Sundry other Materials, the property of Alexander Ross and William Thompson as per within account, applying them for the Use and Service of The Colony of Virginia, and that Major Thomas Smallman & Mr. John Gibson were appointed and Qualified according to Law to Value the same.

Given under my hand at Fort Dunmore this 22nd day of September 1774.

(Signed) John Connelly.
Commanding.

The Colony of Virginia to Alexander Ross and William Thompson for Sundries viz.

	£	s	d
1244160 Bricks @ 18 /	1120		
Sundry Bricks and Stones remaining in the Governors House	77		
Sundry Square and Cut Stones in the Walls of the Fort	25		
The above articles ascertained and estimated by James Foster and Daniel Brown Masons and bricklayers on oath			
2006 Picketts @ 60/ per hundred	60	15	
The quantity ascertained by William Richmond George 6..... and Daniel Brown Senr. on oath			
4250 feet of walnut Scantling @ 20/ per hundred	42	10	
499 feet of Plank @ 12 / per ditto	3		
16 Double Frames of Barrack rooms @ £ 6.	96		
23 80 feet of Square Timber @ 7/6 pr hund			
a square Loghouse 50 feet long	50		
The above articles apprized and ascertained by William Richmond and John Collins Carpenters on oath			
2 Ridoubts, 8 stacks of Chimneys together with bricks for repairing some breaches in the Forts			
Apprized and ascertained by James Fowler and Nathaniel Hoaks Bricklayers &c on oath			
	£ 1649	17	2

Augusta County We the subscribers being duly appointed and sworn according to Law to Examine and Ascertain the property of Messrs Alexander Ross and William Thompson taken for the use of the Colony of Virginia Do Hereby Certify that upon the strictest Enquiry and an Examination into every particular we do find the above amount to be just and true amounting to Seventeen hundred and ninety six pounds, eighteen shillings and eleven pence, Virginia Currency.

Witness our hands this 22nd September 1774
(Signed) John Gibson
Thos. Smallman

Winchester 20th October 1775
The within account is a true Copy from the originals Delivered to the Commissions. Examd pr Evans Williams Clark to the Commisrs for settling the Expense of the late Expedition agnst the Indians and Lord Dunmore.

Frederick County This day George Boots of lawful age before the Commissioners appointed By the Honorable the Assembly & Convention for Settling the Militia accts of the late Expidition Under Lord Dunmore & being Sworn upon the Holy Evangelists deposeth & Sayeth that Alexdr Ross of Fort Pitt Showed him a bill of Sale from Major Edmonston who this deponant Understood

Commanded at Fort Pitt the time the Sale was made to Alexdr Ross & William Thompson for all the Ruins of Fort Pitt & its Appendages for a Valuable consideration after the Said Fort was dismantled and Evacuated by the Kings Troops. And the said Alexdr Ross shewed this deponent a letter from Col. Robinson who this deponent was informed was the Barrack Master Genl. for America which letter seemed to be in answer to one written by the said Ross to the said Col. Robinson when he informed him it was always customary to Sell the Ruins of Forts whenever they were Evacuated by the Kings Troops—that the King was never ajudged a Vicious intruder but had a Right to Sell the Ruins of Forts whenever left by his Troops & therefore his purchase was good, this deponent further saith that he was informed at Fort Pitt that a Sergeant and four privates were left at Fort Pitt for what purpose this deponent knoweth not & that they were very lately gone to join their Regiment

(signed) Geo. Boots

Sworn before me this 23rd Day of October 1775

(signed) Isaac Hite

Fred k County this day came Dorsey Penticost of lawful age before the Commrs appointed by the Honbl Assembly & Convention for Settling the Accts of the late Expedition under Lord Dunmore & being Sworn upon the Holy Evangelists deposeth and sayeth That he saw a letter from Genl Gage dated in the winter of 1772 which seemed to be an answer to a Remonstrance from the inhabitants of Fort Pitt desiring to purchase the Ruins of Fort Pitt wherein he informed them that he had recd a return from Major Edmonston informing him he had sold the Premises to Alexander Ross and William Thompson which sale was Good & by his orders and the Deponent further say there was a Corp & three men left at Fort Pitt who he was informed by Doctr Edward Hand Surgeon of the said Regiment were left to take care of the Boats, Batoes & c.

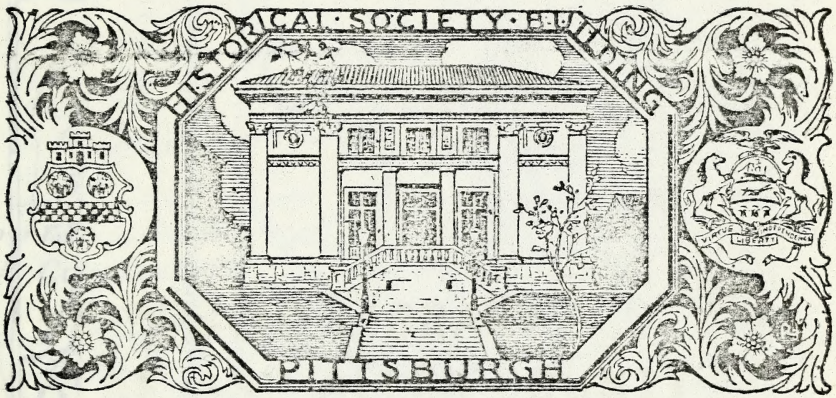
(Signed) Dorsey Penticost

Sworn before me this 23d of Octo 1775

The within Depositions taken in the presence of the Commissioners

(Signed) Richard Lee, Chairman.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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VOLUME 5 NUMBER 4

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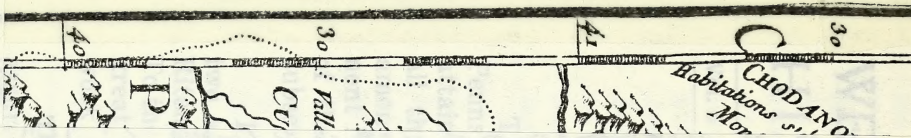
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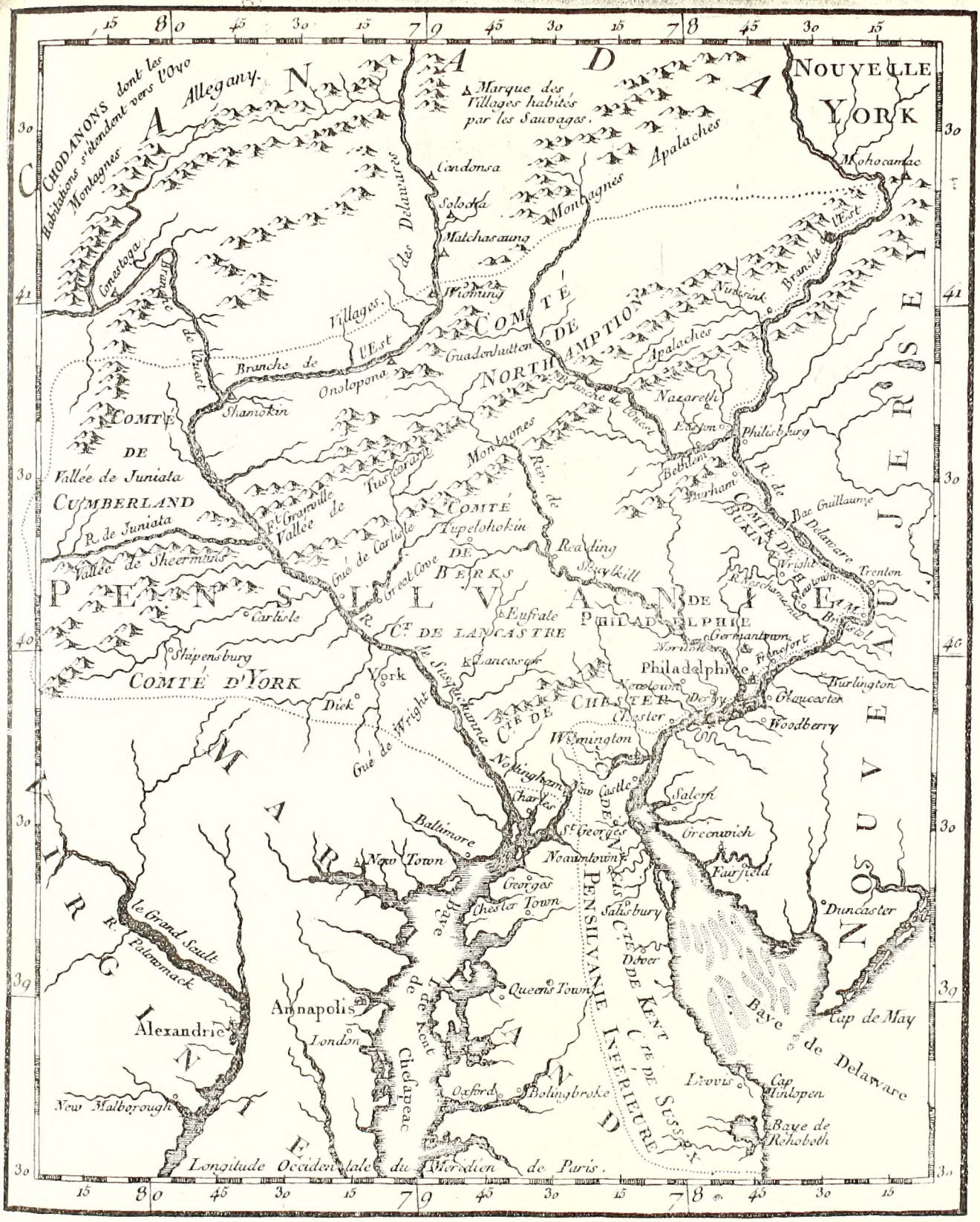

MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1767

From *Histoire Naturelle Et Politique De La Pennsylvanie Et De L' Establissement Des Quakers Dans Cette Contree*

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 5 No. 4 OCTOBER, 1922 Price 75 cents

ANNOUNCEMENT

This number completes the fifth volume of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine. The magazine has now attained a front rank among historical periodicals. Nearly all the leading public libraries of the United States are among its subscribers, and practically all the most prominent historical societies which publish historical magazines of their own, are on its exchange list. The list of local subscribers is constantly increasing.

The editor of the magazine, with the cooperation of the two associate editors, Messrs. John P. Cowan and John S. Ritenour, has conducted the magazine from the beginning. To the editor this has been a labor of love in which he found great pleasure, notwithstanding the fact that considerable work was involved.

The magazine being now on a sound footing and with an assured future, the editor, at the beginning of this summer concluded that it was time for him to retire from his position and shift the burden of conducting the magazine upon other shoulders, in order that he might be able to devote

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

more time to his private affairs. Accordingly, on June 16th, he sent his resignation to the President of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, enclosing a copy to the Chairman of the Publication Committee. The resignation was to take effect at the end of the present year and has been accepted. Since that time Alfred Proctor James has been selected as editor of the magazine. Mr. James is the assistant professor of history and acting head of the Department of History of the University of Pittsburgh, and has been connected with the institution for the last five years.

The Historical Society is to be congratulated on having secured a man so well qualified for the position to which he has been elected. He is a Virginian by birth and was graduated with the degree of A. B. from Randolph-Macon College at Ashland, Virginia. Having secured a Rhodes Scholarship he went to England and studied in the University of Oxford, specializing in history and receiving the degree of B. A. Subsequently he also received the degree of M. A. from Oxford, and still later the degree of A. M. from the University of Chicago. Before coming to Pittsburgh he taught in the Ohio Wesleyan University and in the University of Arkansas. He has done considerable writing on historical subjects, and many of his articles have appeared in current magazines.

The papers which students of the University of Pittsburgh read at the last two annual University Evenings of the Historical Society, some of which have appeared in the magazine, were prepared under the direction of Mr. James and amply sustain his reputation as an historical student of the first rank as well as a man of much literary ability. With this gentleman at the head of the magazine, and with the cooperation of the two associate editors, the magazine will not only retain its present position in the historical world, but will attain an even higher rank. May every success attend the efforts of the new régime!

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

THE COLONISTS OF WILLIAM PENN

By

MARCIA B. BREADY

Like Massachusetts and Virginia, Pennsylvania originated in England. Penn was comparatively late, however, and at his coming Swedes had been on the Delaware for forty years, nominally controlled by a few Dutch from Manhattan, in forts. The Welsh had bought land from Penn while both parties were still on the other side of the water, and were in possession on the Schuylkill two months before he landed at the Swedish town of Uplands, now Chester. From them he bought the site of Philadelphia. At Penn's invitation, many Germans and Swiss from the Upper Rhine followed him the next year, 1683, accompanied by some Hollanders and some Huguenots. Scotch in great numbers came from Ulster County, Ireland, where King James I. had placed them, as their hundred year leases expired.

This was reproduced in an area smaller than one quarter of Ireland, a diminutive Europe of the North. Persecution sent these colonists, and liberty of worship bound them together. William and John Penn furnished the government, together with their provincial council, and where the majority were Quakers, there was little friction. Therefore in the seventy-four years between the grant to Penn and the French and Indian War, there was wonderful development of agriculture, commerce, manufacture and scientific research.

William Penn, who had brought this miscellaneous population into union rather than unity, was a man in whom also "the elements were mixed". His father had been an admiral whose service to Cromwell and Charles II. had been equally good. He inclined toward royalty, however, and foreseeing the Restoration, offered his fleet, after taking Jamaica, to the King, then in exile. Having no place to keep a fleet, Charles declined but remained grateful. The admiral,

ambitious for his son, was shocked to find William affected by Quaker preaching, while at Oxford. A tour in France was prescribed and recalled worldly taste, especially in clothes. On again hearing preaching, William's religious feeling returned. This time, he was sent to the Irish court, and helped subdue a disturbance. Here the only portrait of the great Quaker was painted. He wore armor and the long hair of a Cavalier. Exposed to preaching once more, he joined the sect, and the admiral disowned him for the last time.

Penn alternately preached and attended court. He was that difficult combination, a Quaker courtier. Often cast into jail, he nevertheless obtained, because of a debt to his father, the great gift of Pennsylvania. Religious liberty was with him a principle, and his laws were mild. Only two crimes were capital and graded punishments were then first introduced.

Penn's colonists were Quakers, but many Church of England people came. Together they built up the "green country town" like those in England. English life in more republican form was reproduced, for the Philadelphia grandfathers were then in the making. Prosperity begot vast extravagance in dress and entertainment. A lady wore brocade or taffeta with hair piled mountain high. A gentleman in a gold laced cocked hat, pointed shoes and with cuffs leaded, took up half the side-walk, as he swung his cane and scraped his foot in bowing. Markets were so abundant that gourmandizing was inevitable at the dinners given in leisurely fashion at any hour of the afternoon, and at suppers in public houses. Needless to say, Madeira flowed copiously. In English fashion, the Philadelphians built summer homes in the suburbs. Four of these still remain, Woodland, Mount Pleasant, Stenton and Cliveden. Twenty-seven of them were destroyed in the Revolutionary War.

The Welsh Barony lay just west of Philadelphia. Its oldest church is eight miles from the City Hall. Seventeen families came in the Mayflower of the Welsh, and the monthly meetings made their laws. Soon county lines were carried through their tract, bringing a sharp protest. They had schools as well as churches and preserved their language for fifty years when they were absorbed into the English. A

curious Welsh pedigree of one hundred and ten generations carries their leader, John ap Thomas through Prince Medoe, ap Owain, Merion, Brute discoverer of Britain, Aeneas the Trojan, Jupiter, Saturn, Javan, Japhath, Noah, Lamach, Methusalah, Enos, Seth and Adam to God.

The first comers were a clan, had no surnames and were descendents of kings and bards. They thought medicine and agriculture the most honorable employments, and the phrase "a Welsh cousin" carried even to the famous forty-second degree, shows their warmth of heart toward kindred. Thomas Buchanan Read's "The Wagoner of the Alleganies" does justice to these Welsh of the Schuylkill and Chester valleys.

Penn himself called the attention of Germans to his "Holy Experiment" as he called Pennsylvania when he preached on the Rhine. His pamphlets on it in Dutch and German, were freely scattered in South Germany. At Crefeld and Kriegsheim, his friendship secured the highly cultured Pastorius as a colonist in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Kelpius with his forty mystics followed, and from their tower on Wissahicken Ridge watched through the telescope for the Last Day. Ephrata in Lancaster County was the outcome of these monks. Back in Switzerland, the Zwinglian was the state church, and when the followers of Memo Simon would not bear arms, they were put across the border into Germany. There Menonite Quakers became the second large company from that region to enter Pennsylvania.

The story of the Palatine appeals. The Palatinate on the Upper Rhine was a garden spot of earth, but the successive desolations of the Thirty Years' War, and the burning of the Province by order of Louis XIV, together with religious discrimination, fairly drove these farmers of thirty generations to cross the sea. So many of them came that by the time of the Revolution, they were one third of the population, a proportion they still hold. Vessels left Rotterdam. The fare was five pounds to eight pounds, but the Frankfort Company sold transportation for two pounds, and peas, oatmeal and beer for one pound. Dried beef, cheese and butter were added at Holland. The quantity indicated the long voyage, but the standard was seldom reached. Sometimes months instead of weeks were taken in the passage,

and winds were to be waited for. Food often ran short; one ship was at sea twenty-two weeks and one hundred out of one hundred and fifty died of hunger. Penn's own ship had thirty-six fatal cases of small pox, and after arrival, mortality was not far behind that at Plymouth. Hard hearted captains who found much profit in the trade overcrowded ships, and separated passengers from their sea-chests! Spanish privateers were feared, but the Germans sang their grand hymns! Count Zinzendorf of Saxony and his Moravians started community life in Bethlehem and Nazareth, and Christianized Indians in the Wyoming Valley, before Connecticut made her claim.

All these Germans took the unbroken forests, grubbed the stumps the first year and ploughed the second. By unceasing labor, they were soon prosperous. English county officials ruled them while they built their great barns, called "Swissens" from the overhanging second story, a story strong enough for a team to drive into. In Spring or Fall, five hundred of their famed Conestoga wagons, red of running gear, blue of body, with white cover might be seen on the road from Bedford or from Reading, carrying two or three thousand pounds each, of provisions. Four or six horses drew a wagon, and arranged on each horse's collar was an arch of bells that chimed, small trebles on the leaders, big basses on the wheel horses.

To their own tongue the Germans clung, and they formed a dialect of the Frankish and Allemanic sources whence they sprang. They had several printing presses and prepared their Bibles, hymn books and almanacs. Christopher Sauer and Peter Miller were their great publishers. To commit hymns to memory was their chief literary effort, and the almanac was their periodical. Two newspapers supplied such needs. A list of titles of almanacs in a Congressional Library publication shows how many more were printed in Pennsylvania than elsewhere, since she had seven hundred and fifty titles, New York three hundred, and Massachusetts five hundred and twenty-five.

In twenty-five years Lancaster became larger than inland cities of England. Here a Switzer invented a novelty of irrigation. Spring water was conducted into many small troughs on a hillside; stopping the water at the end would

cause it to overflow each trough, wetting the ground between it and the next. They loved flowers and their dooryards bloomed then, as now and in the old Palatinate. More important practically was their success with vegetables which soon supplied the tables of the Province. About their agriculture gathered all the superstitions of their ancient ancestors. Belief in the influence of stars on a new born child and of the moon on cereals and vegetables was a part of their being. The almanac marked the lucky or unlucky day for birth, for engagements and weddings. There too, it was learned that no planting must be done in the waning of the moon, but in the waxing. Onions must be planted when the horns of the moon were down, but beans and potatoes when the horns were up. Omens were abundant for death and for weather. Witches might interfere with butter-making. Horseshoes at the door might keep them out. Amulets, incantations and pow wows were in use. At a funeral a procession of one hundred or one hundred and fifty horseback riders followed. At the house, cake with hot rum punch and cider was offered. The marker for a grave was twelve by eighteen inches and laid flat upon the grave.

Of the Scotch Irish we learn somewhat from their travelling ministers, Presbyterians, of course, and the historian counts them by congregations, formed first in the three ports of landing, Lewes, Newcastle and Philadelphia. Near the Maryland line, and in the three lower counties, as Delaware was known, more churches were formed, and as thousand upon thousand came, many more congregations grew up in the West, across the Susquehanna. James Logan, secretary of the Province called them "bold and indigent strangers", who gave as an excuse when challenged for a title to land, that "we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly." Hanna says, however, that they were a tolerated class, exempt from quit-rents, by an ordinance of 1720, in consideration of their being a frontier people, as forming a cordon of defence around the non-fighting Quakers.

While in Ulster, the Scotch had grown very proud and self assertive; they were the favorites of the King, and they lorded it over "the mere Irish". But these haughty strangers were hated and harried by the wild Irish. Coming from such a quarrelsome state, the Scotch were bold and their

great number gave much alarm. They pushed their way into Manors reserved by the Penns, and they were rough to the Indians. A happy condition, however, is depicted in letters to Ulster. "It is an extraordinarily healthy country; land is worth only $3.50 an acre (be it noted that James Logan wrote that he had more trouble to settle five Irish families than fifty others!) The best ploughs in the world are here and the ground is soft. The country yields extraordinary increase: the summer is so warm that a shirt and linen drawer trousers, which are breeches and stockings in one, are enough. There are two fairs yearly, at Chester and Newcastle; and two markets weekly where merchants' goods are sold, and where all young men and women that want husbands and wives may be supplied."

Also, "I desire thee to send or bring me a hundred choice quills for my own use, and Sister Rachel desires thee to bring her some bits of silk for trash bags."

Pennsylvania began with those pietists who were disappointed in formal worship, and whose sufferings from war called for some emotional outlet, such as they found in the adult Bible classes. It embraced some vigorous colonists who objected to control by bishops and arch-bishops. There was some mingling of the blood of these groups, Teuton, Anglo-Saxon, Scot and Cambrian, but for the most part the English were in the eastern counties with the Welsh, the Germans next, while westward Germans and Scotch Irish divided the Province till they overflowed into Ohio and the Allegheny valley. The Wyoming tragedy belongs to the Revolutionary period, when as a whole Pennsylvania was second only to Virginia and Massachusetts in loyal devotion, even its old Cambrian blood of the Welsh stirring till Quakers formed themselves into "Associations."

AN EARLY ACCOUNT OF PENNSYLVANIA

On a recent visit to Paris, the editor of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, came into the possession of an interesting little volume treating of the Province of Pennsylvania in its early days. It is in French and is entitled, *Histoire Naturelle Et Politique De La Pennsylvanie Et De L' Establissement Des Quakers Dans Cette Contree.* The book is a translation from the German and was published in Paris in 1768. There is an introduction by the French editor in which he gives some of the authorities on which the work is based. Curiously enough neither in the introduction nor in the body of the book is there any reference to the still recent attempt of the French to obtain possession of what is now the western part of Pennsylvania. There is a complete index to the contents, something quite rare in books of this period. An invaluable feature of the work is a map of Pennsylvania, which so far as the writer knows, is the earliest map of the Province extant. A copy of the map is published herewith, and from this it will be observed that the westerly line of the Province, as given, extends only slightly beyond the Alleghany Mountains. That this was the approximate western boundary of Pennsylvania at that time is beyond question, the ownership of the land beyond that line being still doubtful. The sovereignty of this part of the country was in England, and English troops with the assistance of those from the contiguous colonies, defended the settlers from the attacks from the Indians. The claims to the land afterward asserted by both Virginia and Pennsylvania were still in abeyance.

THE POST-BOY'S SONG

By

FRANCES FULLER BARRITT

The night is dark and the way is long,
And the clouds are flying fast;
The night-wind sings a dreary song,
And the trees creak in the blast;
The moon is down in the tossing sea,
And the stars shed not a ray;
The lightning flashes frightfully,
But I must on my way.

Full many a hundred times have I
Gone o'er it in the dark,
Till my faithful steeds can well descry
Each long familiar mark:
Withal, should peril come to-night,
God have us in his care!
For without help, and without light,
The boldest well beware.

Like a shuttle thrown by the hand of fate,
Forward and back I go:
Bearing a thread to the desolate
To darken their web of woe;
And a brighter thread to the glad of heart,
And a mingled one to all;
But the dark and the light I cannot part,
Nor alter their hues at all.

Now on, my steeds! the lightning's flash
An instant gilds our way;
But steady! by that dreadful crash
The heavens seemed rent away.
Soho! here comes the blast anew,
And a pelting flood of rain;
Steady! a sea seems bursting through
A rift in some upper main.

'Tis a terrible night, a dreary hour,
But who will remember to pray
That the care of the storm-controlling power
May be over the post-boy's way?
The wayward wandered from his home,
The sailor upon the sea,
Have prayers to bless them where they roam—
Who thinketh to pray for me?

But the scene is changed! up rides the moon
Like a ship upon the sea;
Now on my steeds! this glorious moon
Of a night so dark shall be
A scene for us; toss high your heads
And cheerily speed away;
We shall startle the sleepers in their beds
Before the dawn of day

Like a shuttle thrown by the hand of fate
Forward and back I go:
Bearing a thread to the desolate
To darken their web of woe:
And a brighter thread to the glad of heart,
And a mingled one for all;
But the dark and the light I cannot part,
Nor alter their hues at all.

EDUCATION IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA 1850-1860

By

FLORENCE E. WARD*

The real growth, the absolute progress of civilization, the change from a frontier post, subject to Indian attack, through various gradations to a great country, from its early poverty to great prosperity, is best observed in the beginning and growth of the schools and the relative interest taken in them by the community.

There had been little progress since 1834, when the first school bill of Pennsylvania was put through, in the face of much opposition, by Thaddeus Stevens, who had come into the Legislature for the sole purpose of putting through the school bill.

The schools were single story log cabins with huge stone chimneys and fire places. Glass or greased paper admitted light. The door was held shut by a wooden latch to which a string was attached to lift it. Seats were made of split logs into which pegs were driven for legs. There were no backs to these and they were so high that the feet could not reach the floor. Desks were made of slabs supported by pins driven into the walls. The pens were made from quills by the teacher and the ink was made from berries.

One school house stood near a sugar tree. When the shadow of the school house reached the tree the teacher knew it was time to dismiss.

We read of one teacher who was considered very good. He was severe in his discipline but successful in beating what he did know into the heads of others. He was a great tobacco chewer and the floor around his seat was always besmeared.

The alphabet was the first thing taught. Then the pupil

*Read before the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society on June 1, 1920.

would go to words of few letters whose endings were the same. They would increase these words until at last they could "spell-off' the book. In Arithmetic there were no explanations made. The chief object was to get the question worked and put in a copy book. If you could not solve the question the teacher would work it for you but without an explanation. The New Testament was greatly used.

Twenty-six days constituted a month and six days a week. On Saturdays the catechism was taught and spelling matches were held. Each one tried to stay head the longest.

At the beginning of the decade of 1850-1860 little progress was seen. The school term was no longer and the teachers were no better paid and no better trained than before. This was partly due to the many nationalities making up the population of Pennsylvania. They had to be trained to the new system.

By 1852 many of the counties were holding institutes. The teachers of Allegheny county organized in 1848 and those of Washington county in 1850. These institutes usually met for one day. All who were interested would attend and take part in the discussions. These meetings aroused the attention and interest of the people. By the end of that year the system had come to such a state that the needed reform could be gotten through.

William Bigler who became Governor in 1852 was in favor of the reform of 1854 and used all his personal influence and the influence of his administration in its behalf. He signed the bill without any thought of his political future.

Francis Huges, one of the Secretaries of the Commonwealth, in his report gave the following as some of the defects in the prevalent system:

incompetent teachers
no power to enforce taxes or collection of them
want of corporate divisions
want of proper buildings.

The bill of 1854 was read in place in the Senate by Dr. Jonas R. McClintock of Allegheny County, Chairman of the Committee on Education. There was much opposition to the bill and it was passed with low majorities.

This law reorganized the system of public education. The township was made the unit of the system. The term

was increased to four months. Reading, writing, spelling, grammar, geography and arithmetic were made the statute subjects thus doubling the course in many districts. Grants to private and religious schools were prohibited. The offices of county superintendent for each county and of deputy superintendent of common schools were created. The directors with the aid of the teachers were to select the books. Separate schools for negroes and mulattos were to be established when there were twenty or more in a district. The last provision was repealed in 1881 but the schools continued.

A convention of the County Superintendents met in Harrisburg in September 1854. Thirty-six counties were represented. The grade and form of certificate that they adopted were practically the same as those of today. The provisional being granted to many and the permanent to few.

Many looked down upon the County Superintendents and wanted the provision of the law referring to them repealed. In many counties it became a political issue. Governor Bigler was not re-elected in 1855. Many thought that his successor, Governor Pollock, would go against the school law but in his message he said that he stood for the County Superintendents, better schools and normals for the training of teachers.

The County Superintendents were to be given a fair trial under Governor Pollock. This had not been done the previous year as many times low salaries kept efficient men from accepting the position. In other cases the county would put in a man who knew nothing whatsoever about education. The teachers objected to them on the grounds that they could not get a position if they were to be examined by these men; that they did not care for their visits and the remarks they made; that the men would put in personal friends.

The County Superintendents of Western Pennsylvania and their salaries for the first term were:

Allegheny	James M. Pryor	$1,000.
Armstrong	John Campbell	300.
Beaver	Thomas Nicholson	350.
Butler	Isaac Black	300.
Fayette	Joshua V. Gibbons	600.
Greene	John A. Gordon	262.50

Indiana	Sam P. Bollman	500.
Somerset	James Stutzman	400.
Washington	John L. Gow	1,000.

In 1852 the first number of the *Pennsylvania School Journal* was published. This became the educational magazine of the state. Also in this year the State Teachers' Association was organized at Harrisburg. The following year the *Tutor and Pupil,* a monthly journal, was published at Chambersburg. This was meant to be a stimulus for the young people.

In 1857 the office of State Superintendent was made a separate Department. Before this time it had been attached to the office of the Secretary of State. Also in this year the first provision for the education of teachers was made. The state was divided into twelve normal districts. Lancaster was the first district to open a normal school although there were small private and summer normals before this time. Superintendent Kerr of Allegheny County established a normal at Mansfield in 1855. In 1856 a summer normal was opened in Washington. In the summer of 1858 a normal was opened at Hillsboro which resulted in the Southwestern State Normal at California. The reason for the establishment of the normals, one man said, was "that there were more incompetents in schools than in any other profession. There are training schools for lawyers, doctors, preachers but anyone will do for a teacher."

Massachusetts led in the establishment of High Schools in the early fifties. The more progressive counties of Pennsylvania soon took them up. The people were still unused to paying taxes for education and they did not see the need of the schools so we can readily see that there was much opposition to these schools. In the *Pittsburgh Post* of 1856 appeared an editorial against the high taxes needed for the use of the High School. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* made the answer that all the taxes being paid under the heading of High School were not for the sole purpose of that building but for the other ward buildings as well. The *Gazette* hoped that the *Post* would correct this error in order that no one would become prejudiced against so good an institution. This shows the attitude of the newspapers toward education.

The High Schools were very rigid. Latin, Greek and

mathematics formed the chief subjects of the curriculum. The chief purpose of the High School at that time was to prepare for the entrance to one of the denominational colleges of the time.

Entrance to the Pittsburgh High School was given twice a year. The Central Board of Education gave an examination in spelling, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history and simple equations in algebra. The books used were the New Testament, McGuffy's and Osgood's Readers, Western Calculator, Davis, Ray and Greenleaf's Arithmetics, Smith's Geography and Atlas, Mitchell's, Monteith's and McNally's Geography, Reed and Kellog's Grammar, Goodrich's History. Those passing these examinations were admitted to the High School. The classes averaged twenty-five.

About this time the people of Greene county held a meeting denouncing the school law of 1854 and especially the County Superintendents. They declared the law to be unconstitutional; said it would increase government agents; that it taxed the poor to pay for the education of the rich. They added that if those who had passed this law had spent a few years in the schools they never would have passed it.

Not only were there county institutes which by the end of the decade lasted three and four days but there were also district institutes held in the school houses of various townships. Part of the program was given over to exercises by the pupils. These exercises were usually in music and an examination in the different branches taught. Allegheny and Washington, the two leading counties of Western Pennsylvania, brought lecturers from all over the United States to speak at these meetings.

At a meeting in Somerset township, Washington county, the following statements were brought out. "Only competent teachers and interested parents can bring good schools. Our motto is to be: What does the pupil really know about or understand, not what has he memorized? Teach the children to understand and see that they understand clearly everything taught."

At the various institutes such topics as these were discussed: The best method of teaching the common branches; moral attainments and knowledge of branches taught; co-

education of sexes; importance of the study of the American language; establishment of schools of arts, mines, etc.; analysis of sentences; women as teachers; the product of two negative factors is negative; popular errors in teaching; powers and duties of Principals of graded schools. It was recommended at these meetings that delegates be sent to the State Association meetings; that the same text books be used throughout the county; that the Bible be used for religious service. These topics show that the people were wide awake to the needs of the schools.

It was at this time that arrangements were made for Horace Mann, the great school worker, to lecture in Pittsburgh on the needs of the schools and their benefits.

One educator gave the following plans for the building of school houses. They should be built on a North, South, East and West plan with their greatest length North and South. This should be in a ratio of 6:4. The openings should be on the East, West and South. That would leave a long unbroken space on the North side for maps, blackboards or blackened walls at which a large class could work. The ceilings should be very high—at least twelve feet.

Another educator gave the following hints on education: There should be more home study. Rest and physical exercises should be given frequently. Have plenty of fresh air. Do not start children at four, five, and six as they are too young to do the work. The hours are too long. Establish libraries for teachers. There should be a person to stop the vice of being late and of being absent.

In 1859 the Western Pennsylvania Teacher's Association was to get the teachers of Western Pennsylvania into closer touch and cooperation with each other. It was also to show the educators of the East that those of the West were doing their part to make the schools a success.

From a State Report of that time we find that the school appropriation was $300,000.

Whole Number of Districts in State.....1,632
Whole Number of Schools in State.....10,469
Whole Number of Teachers in State.....12,143
Whole Number of Scholars in State.....539,024
Average salaries of male teachers per month.....$22.29½
Average salaries of female teachers per month.....$14.89½

Average length of term_____5 months, 10 days

It is interesting to note in the comparison of the salary between male and female teachers that the female teachers of New Brighton demanded the same salary as that given male teachers. Teachers in several of the other districts took up the matter but nothing came of it.

In addition to the public schools there were many private institutions and institutions of higher learning. The most important of these are the University of Pittsburgh which was established in 1787 under the name of Pittsburgh Academy. It is the oldest existing institution west of the Alleghanies. The purpose was to establish a school in Western Pennsylvania like the University of Pennsylvania. In 1819 the name was changed to Western University of Pennsylvania. In 1908 it received its present name.

In 1787 Washington Academy had its beginning with a gift of fifty pounds from Benjamin Franklin. In 1802 Jefferson Academy, an outgrowth of McMillan's Log Cabin, received its charter and the school was opened at Canonsburg. Both of these schools were kept up by the Presbyterian Church. After the Civil War on account of lack of funds the two schools were united under the name of Washington and Jefferson College. There was much dispute as to location. The citizens of Washington offered the college $50,000 if they would make that town their site. In 1869 the college opened at Washington.

The Female Seminary at Washington which was opened in 1838 was one of the most important of the girls' schools. The Female Seminary at Pittsburgh was another important school for girls.

Among the commercial schools were Duff's Mercantile College and the Iron City Commercial College.

Among the schools which were open then but do not exist today were: Florence Academy for ladies at Florence; Cross Creek Academy at West Alexander; Edgeworth Ladies in Pittsburgh. This was transferred to Braddock's field and later to Sewickley; Steubenville Female Seminary at Steubenville; Pleasant Hill Seminary at Pleasant Hill; Beaver Female Seminary at Beaver under the auspices and patronage of the Pittsburgh Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Greensburg Academy at Greensburg; Young

Ladies Seminary at New Brighton; Classical and Commercial School for boys at Sewickley under the name of the Sewickley Academy; Rev. Dr. Killikelly's Female Seminary at Kittanning for a limited number of young ladies. In the city of Pittsburgh there were several schools. Penn Institute was on Penn Street. An English and Classical Seminary was on Ferry and Liberty Streets. A select school for boys from 10 to 16 years of age was located on 6th and Grant just opposite the Court House. Allegheny Institute at the College Building was to take care of the education of the colored children. Professor Thompson's Female Seminary in Pittsburgh.

Perhaps the reason for so many small schools throughout Western Pennsylvania was the large number of different denominational sects settling here. It is interesting to contrast the course of study, length of term and expenses of the schools of that day with those of today. Among the branches taught were Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, mathematics, natural and moral science, arts, bookkeeping and a general education. In the girls' schools were taught Dead and Modern Languages, painting both oil and water, music, vocal and instrumental, English and mathematics. The term ran from ten to twenty-two weeks. The tuition and board ran from $25.00 to $75.00 for the general education. Language was an extra item, the dead being more expensive than the modern. Oil painting was twice as expensive as water coloring. Church attendance was compulsory and pew rent had to be paid. Some times laundry was included in the board, other times it was a separate item. In some cases the students had to furnish fuel for their rooms.

In 1855 a charter was given for the founding of a Farmer's High School which was to be located in Center County. This finally became known as State College. The school was established for the purpose of correcting the evil in so many of the other schools—i. e.—the low standard set upon manual labor. They were to experiment with and test seeds and find the best breed of stock for different purposes. The expenses after the debt had been cleared was to be $75.00 per year. Dead languages were not to be taught.

Let the value of our common schools never be underrated. The schools are the stronghold of American intelli-

gence. Their doors shall ever be open to all classes and ranks on an equal basis. Their doors shall always guard against Bolshevistic influences. It is by them that the intelligence and the power of our country is to be sustained.

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EARLIER LAWRENCEVILLE

By

REV. EDWARD M. McKEEVER, LL.D.*

The first mention of the district, in definite form, where Lawrenceville is located, I find in the late Monsignor Lambing's work, "Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese" (P25).

There we are told that an expedition, headed by Captains Peter Celeron, Knight of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, and a Frenchman, arrived at Shannopinstown, an Indian village, on the East side of the Allegheny River, or South Side as we call it, about two miles above the Forks, afterward known as the Point. Celeron has this entry in his journal: "The Iroquois inhabit this place, and an old woman of that nation is their Leader—This place is one of the prettiest that I have seen up to the present on the Beautiful River."

The next mention is in connection with the trying experiences of Major Geo. Washington as he was then, a young man about 21 years, in endeavoring to make a landing at Shannopinstown. Washington has left a record of these experiences in his journal of Dec. 27th, 1753, but I shall quote from the relation, dated Dec. 29th, 1753 of Christopher Gist, his guide: "We set out early, got to Allegheny, made a raft, and with much difficulty got over to an island a little above Shannopinstown. The Major having fallen from the raft, and my fingers being frost bitten, and the sun down, we contented ourselves upon that island. It was deep water between us and the shore, but the cold did us some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice."

Shannopinstown was at 33d Street and the Allegheny River.

The island referred to was Washington's Island, afterward known as Wainwright's Island.

*Read before the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society on April 25, 1922.

What Celeron said about the Lawrenceville district, and its vicinity in 1749, Isaac Harris took occasion to repeat later, though in other words, (1837) in his Pittsburgh Business Directory: "Lawrenceville is beautifully situated on the Eastern (Southern) bank of the Allegheny River, at the distance of two miles and a half from Pittsburgh and near the Greensburg Turnpike. It is just opposite Wainright Island, the spot where Gen. Washington was cast away in his first effort to cross the Allegheny, when on his mission to Fort Franklin. As a location for country seats its vicinity is not surpassed in beauty of scenery or purity of atmosphere, by any of our suburban villages, and many of our wealthy citizens have availed themselves of its facilities, whose elegant villas add much to the appearance of the place, particularly when viewed from the opposite side of the river."

After reading or hearing such descriptions of the Lawrenceville District one can hardly help exclaiming what an attractive and desirable locality to have had a home in!

Such was the spot where the map I have shows what might be called the nucleus, or beginning of Lawrenceville.

It is taken from the Warrantee Atlas, page 9, in the Recorder's Office of Allegheny County, and from W. B. Foster's Plan of Lawrenceville.

They show about three hundred acres of farm land, divided as follows, among five holders: Conrad Winebiddle, patented "Good Liquor" in 1787. Samuel Ewalt, patented "Belle Fontaine" (Beautiful Fountain) in 1787. John Brandon, C. Waltham and James Irwin, patented "Good Intent" very likely the same year. James O'Hara, patented "Springfield" in 1811. John Ewalt, patented in 1818.

All these farms lay east of Two Mile Run, except that of James O'Hara, part of which lay west of it; and the most of them seemed to have been north of where Butler St. is now, and stretched along the Allegheny River.

Though the maps I have here do not show the name of Wm. B. Foster as the owner of any of the land where Lawrenceville was situated, statements made by the late Father Lambing on page 186 of his "Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese," and by Morrison Foster on page 8 of his "Biography of Stephen C. Foster," his brother, lead one to infer that he was.

Father Lambing informs us that Wm. B. Foster sold in 1816 to the Government of the United States 37 acres of land for the Arsenal.

Morrison Foster states that his father Wm. B. Foster sold 30 acres for that purpose.

Thanks to the good offices of Hon. John M. Morin I have been favored with a communication from Adjutant General P. C. Harris of the War Department, Washington, D. C., dated Aug. 15, 1921, containing the following statement: "Allegheny Arsenal was established in 1814 at latitude 40° 32′ North, longitude 80° 2′ West, on left bank of the Allegheny River, 3 miles from its mouth, and within the city limits of Pittsburgh. The reservation is supposed to contain about 38 acres.

"It appears from notes found in this office that the site of Allegheny Arsenal was selected by Captain Abraham R. Wooley, Deputy Commissioner of Ordnance, who superintended the erection of the first buildings on it, and that the site consists of parcels of land purchased at different times from different parties; the first tract, 30 acres, being purchased April 9th, 1814; to which several small tracts were added in 1831, 1833, 1837 and 1867, respectively.

"The first buildings were erected four or five years after the establishment of the Arsenal. The small tract purchased in 1867 contained a spring that supplied the garrison and workmen with water."

I had asked for a list of the commanding officers of the Arsenal from the date of its establishment, but the Adjutant General begged to be excused, saying: "It is not practicable to undertake such a compilation at this time" alleging the great pressure the Department was under as a result of urgent public business, and other causes, as the reason.

To satisfy myself on the two questions as to whether Wm. B. Foster had sold land for the Arsenal, and how much, I went to the Recorder's Office of Allegheny County and there found on record the deed showing that he had sold 30 acres to the government. This, then, is "The first tract purchased by the Government April 9th, 1914," referred to by the Adjutant General.

No doubt this purchase of land for an Arsenal attracted wide attention throughout the country, and started visions

as to the future of that locality. Consequently it is not surprising to learn that a man of the ability, foresight and enterprising spirit of Wm. Barclay Foster, prepared for the future, that evidently loomed up big before his mind, by laying out a plan for a town, which he accordingly did. But what should be its name was the next question to be settled. The name of Captain James Lawrence lingered in everyone's memory at the time, the hero, who, when in the war of 1812, he was being carried below mortally wounded on the ship he commanded, cried out: "Don't give up the ship!" The mere mention of the name was enough, when it was agreed that the town should be called Lawrenceville, and the inscription on its seal should be: "Don't give up the ship."

Quite an invasion rapidly added to the population a variety of classes of professional and business men, contractors, tradesmen and workmen, as soon as it was known the great work the government was inaugurating in the purchase of such a large tract of land, and for the purpose of the establishment of a large arsenal. They came from all directions. The name of Captain A. R. Wooley and Wm. B. Foster together with the name of the new town of Lawrenceville no doubt also served as an incentive.

Captain Wooley, superintendent in the preparation of the grounds and, subsequently, the erection of the buildings, who had acquired distinction during the late war, seemed to have the full confidence of the government to secure the best results for all the purposes of what was, indeed, a great enterprise, the first arsenal, deserving the name, in the country.

It might be interesting and instructive to quote in this connection what is found in Harris' "Pittsburgh Directory of 1837" showing the occasion as well as the reasons for the erection of the Arsenal, and in Lawrenceville:

"The Arsenals of the country at that time (1812) were few and diminutive, with arms and munitions fearfully inadequate to the increased demand. There was no organized corps, in which to search, with any prospect of success, for the peculiar science and experience requisite for the important duties of establishing and preparing the vast material for the large force, which, it was foreseen would be demanded to bring the war to an honorable termination.

"Of three or four principal points that were fixed upon for establishing large Arsenals of construction, at which all the munitions appertaining to the Ordnance Department might be collected by purchase and fabrication, the position occupied by the Allegheny Arsenal was deemed second to none in its convenience of location for communicating with, and supplying large and important sections of exposed inland and maritime frontier.

"The importance of this position as a strong connecting link between the Canadas and her military stations on the Mississippi was duly appreciated by the French, and the bones of many a gallant European, whose lives were sacrificed to the natural desire to possess the occupancy of so commanding a post, are even now to be seen whitening the luxuriant and highly cultivated meadows of Braddock's Field.

"As a position whence supplies may be sent to our Northwestern frontier posts on the great tributaries of the Mississippi, New Orleans, the fortresses that protect that great city, and to the chains of permanent defences on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, the Allegheny Arsenal can have no equal, and the superior means it possesses of selecting from among the numerous manufacturing establishments in its immediate vicinity, artisans of every description and of great skill, of procuring all the various materials required in the construction of arms and military equipment of all kinds, renders it one of the most important arsenals of construction in the United States.

"The abundance of coal near this arsenal, and its trifling cost, gives to it one decided advantage over every other; and its contiguity to manufacturies of almost every description, and especially those at which iron is shaped and fashioned to man's will, renders its situation, in this respect, exceedingly convenient for the construction of carriages and machines, into which this material largely enters."

Here we are tempted to stop a moment for a reflection. What a broad vision the men of those days had to take in so many points of connection between the Arsenal and its situation and such wide stretches of territory it would benefit, and by which it would be benefited!

Were they living today, it does not seem too much to say, and were they leaders, as they were then, that there

would not be the delay and hesitancy we are witnessing to-day in responding to the demand of the government for the elevation of the bridges over the Allegheny River; or complying with the apparently simple conditions for securing the appropriations for improvements on the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. Furthermore, the Ohio River and Lake Erie Canal would either be an actuality now, or advancing speedily toward its completion.

The wide survey that the government was able to take in the days of Captain Wooley and Wm. B. Foster, it is still in position to take to-day, and we may be sure that the relations it has in view go far beyond the ken of those whose vision is confined within the narrow limits of our local horizon. Could we rise to the height, as some seem to have done, from which the government contemplates the improvement referred to, we would see the advantages and benefits for the business and welfare of the country at large, and incidentally this community, which would surely result. Great as Pittsburgh is undoubtedly now, as an industrial centre, it cannot be compared with what it would be if we engaged in sympathetic action corresponding with the plans of the government. Slowness on our part to act and grasp what is within our reach may be the occasion of much regret in the future, particularly when we see other communities possibly of more vivid vision and quicker activity, enriched by advantages that should have by every right of situation belonged to us. The recollection of the pressure of the government in behalf of the contemplated improvements would make the sting of disappointment all the more sensible.

You will pardon this digression, I am sure, when I remind you that the lesson of the location of the Arsenal in this district, though of the distant past, and the reasons that brought it about, would, if well remembered and acted upon, assure for this community a consistency of action that would steadily develop the possibilities of Greater Pittsburgh to dimensions of actuality corresponding with advantages which, in not a few respects, surpass those to be found in any other portion of the world.

Now let us take up again the thread of the story of "Earlier Lawrenceville."

As the government went on adding to its purchases of

land and erecting buildings for the purposes of the Arsenal, there was a consequent increase in the population of the town and vicinity.

Meanwhile there set in an increase of mercantile and manufacturing concerns of all kinds, each of which brought its quota to add to the population.

Nor was this advancement of a character to indicate the mushroom growth and development of a boom town. It bore evidences of a permanency to be compared with that of the Arsenal. In the town and the neighborhood, to quote the words of the "Pittsburgh Directory of 1837", "A number of professional, mercantile and manufacturing classes erected dwelling houses, country seats and gardens; so that from a barren part Lawrenceville has become one of the most interesting spots in Western Pennsylvania."

The Directory goes on to say: "The citizens of Lawrenceville and neighborhood are an industrious and sober class of people, and from the fact that there are there three Churches, three Sunday Schools, a Literary Institute and a Lyceum, so extensively known and patronized by the great and good of all nations, affords sufficient evidence of the respectabilty and quality of its society at large."

Elsewhere we learn there were three Churches in the town, viz. an Episcopal, a Presbyterian and a Methodist Church, with a Sunday School attached to each.

We may infer from what is stated in the "Pittsburgh Directory of 1815" that the Catholics were served by Rev. Wm. O'Brien, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church; the Seceders by Rev. Robt. Bruce, Pastor of Church on 7th St; the Covenanters by Rev. Jno. Black, Pastor of Church on 7th St. and the German Lutherans by Rev. Jacob Schnee, Pastor of Church on Smithfield St.; all in the Borough, as it was at that time, of Pittsburgh.

The following list enables us to form some idea of the character of the population when Wm. B. Foster laid out the town of Lawrenceville, taken from the Directory of 1815. Danl Beltzhoover, Gentleman. James W. Brading, Brick Maker. Saml Byington, Blacksmith. James Clark, Shopkeeper. John Coxe, Sawyer. Thomas Crown, Bricklayer. Hugh Galbreath, Carpenter. Jacob Gossbury, Blacksmith. Moses Gray, Sawyer. Samuel Kingan, Stone Mason. Saml

Little, Stone Mason. James McBride, Laborer. David McKelvey, Brickmaker. John McMurday, Carpenter. James McNabby, Stone Cutter. Aaron Meeker, Paper Maker, Steam Paper Mill. David Noyes, Shop Keeper. John O'Connor, Carpenter. Thomas O'Connor, Carpenter. Seth Risley, Paper Maker, Steam Paper Mill. Saml Remmington, Carpenter. James Patrick, Mason. Henry Sarber, Shop Keeper. James Sarber, Innkeeper. John Sarber, Innkeeper. Joseph Scott, Paper Mill, Steam Paper Mill. Kenneth Thompson, Stone Cutter. Robt. Wilson, Laborer. Captain A. R. Wooley, U. S. Ordnance Dept. Jacob Jelter, Paper Maker, Steam Paper Mill.

This list seems to show a settlement of people mostly of English, Irish and Scotch origin or ancestry; and, as I suppose is to be expected in a new town springing up in the neighborhood of a new Arsenal, of tradesmen, laborers and shopkeepers, almost entirely. Professional and other classes came gradually and settled in and around the town, as shown by subsequent Directories.

Wm. B. Foster, founder of the town, established a residence in 1814 upon a tract of land belonging to him just outside the town on the south side of the Pittsburgh and Greensburg Turnpike, on what was known as "Bullitt's Hill," a height commanding a view up and down the river for miles. There he built a beautiful white cottage where he with his family spent many happy years, and hospitality and kindness prevailed. There, too, Stephen C. Foster, his son was born, who grew up to be the pride and glory not only of Lawrenceville, but of America, as a composer of music and writer of ballads. His fame is worldwide.

The exact location of the spot where the "White Cottage" stood was thought to be a lot on Penn Avenue, opposite the Pennsylvania National Bank at the Forks of the Road.

The frame house that still stands there resembles the pictures we see of the Foster home, except the porch which was removed about fifteen years ago. The older residents of Lawrenceville held that that was the original "White Cottage," and even those residents who survive, and whose memory goes back many years, still make the same claim, notwithstanding the fact that the city purchased the proper-

ty where it stood in 1914, the transfer having been made by James H. Park, et ux, by deed dated April 17th of that year.

Indeed, the late Mr. Morrison Foster was under the same impression, and was accustomed, as I was told, to point to the frame house near the Forks of the Road as the old Foster Home.

However, in 1912 or 1913 he called upon me, and asked me to accompany him for the purpose of examining the property. After strolling over the ground, seeming puzzled, he suggested that we go out Penn Avenue a little further, which we did, until we reached the property fronting on Penn Avenue between Ligonier and Denny Streets. After examining this property he hesitated, until he saw the old spring house, which was in a tumble-down condition. Then he said: "This is the place. This springhouse gives me my bearings. But that is not the house. Our house was a frame structure, while this is brick. But it seems to be built on the old foundation."

The city has improved this property and put the building in condition to serve as a Museum in which there are stored a few relics of Stephen C. Foster. It is known now as "The Foster Memorial."

Resuming our narrative with regard to Earlier Lawrenceville, the town, meanwhile, grew and developed until finally it was considered that its conditions were such as to entitle it to the dignity, rights and privileges of a borough.

Accordingly, nineteen years after it had been laid out, by an Act of Legislature, approved Feb. 18th, 1834, the incorporation of Lawrenceville as a borough took place.

There were amendments to this Act, as a result of additions made to the territory of the borough, by separate Acts of Mch. 13th, 1847 and April 21st, 1852.

After a brief career of thirty-three years from 1834 it was annexed to the City of Pittsburgh by an Act of Assembly, approved April 6th, 1867 (P. L. 846; also p.p. 78-82, Pgh. Digest).

Its boundaries seem to have been then: the Allegheny River from 33d St. to 51st St.; 51st St. to Butler St.; Butler St. to about 48th St. thence by an irregular line Southwardly and Westwardly and again Southwardly to Penn Ave., a little Westwardly to 44th St. thence along Penn Ave. West-

wardly to 33d St. along 33d St. back to the Allegheny River Northwardly: except the I. Woolslayer and M. McCullough plots which were added in 1847, from Penn Ave. South between 39th St. and 41st St. Southwardly to Woolslayer Alley.

These boundaries did not include either St. Mary's or Allegheny Cemetery.

The Allegheny Arsenal almost cut the Borough in two from Penn Ave. to the Allegheny River between 39th and 40th Sts.

Matter pertaining to the organization of the Borough of Lawrenceville and its subsequent history would be interesting; but that would carry us beyond the limits of our subject; viz: "Earlier Lawrenceville."

REMINISCENCE OF PITTSBURGH

By

MORGAN NEVILLE*

The elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the throne of France recalls some early recollections, and if you will indulge me in the privilege of the fair Sheherezade, of being discursive, and of digressing as much as I please, a paragraph or two is at your service.

It was probably in 1799 or in 1800 that this distinguished personage accompanied by his two brothers, Montpensier and Beaujolois, came to the western country. On arriving in Pittsburgh, then a small village, they found one or two emigres, who had formerly filled prominent stations under the ancienne regime, who were now earning a scanty subsistence in carrying on some little business of merchandise. One of them, the Chevalier duBac, one of the worthiest of men, and an admirable philosopher, kept a little shop, then denominated, par excellence, a confectionery. The articles, and the only ones, by the way, entitling the chevalier's establishment to this attractive name, were the kernels of hazelnuts, walnuts and peach stones, enclosed in an envelope of burnt maple sugar, fabricated by the skilful hands of the chevalier himself. DuBac was the most popular citizen of the village; he had a monkey of admirable qualities, and his pointer (Sultan), could, like the dog of the Arabian Nights, tell counterfeit money from good; at least, the honest folks who supplied our litle market with chickens and butter thought so, and that was the same thing. It was amusing to hear the master of the shop calling his two familiars to aid him in selecting the good from the bad, "'leven penny-bitts." "Allons Sultan, tell dese good ladie de good money from de counterfait." Then followed the important consultation between the dog and the monkey; Pug grinned and scratched his sides; Sultan smelt and in due time scraped the money

*Copied from the *Cincinnati Chronicle*, into the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of April 5, 1831.

into the drawer. As there were no counterfeit "leven-pences" Sultan seldom failed.—"Madame," would my friend say to the blowzy country lass, "Sultan is like de Pope, he is infalliable."—Sultan and Bijou laid the foundation of this excellent man's fortune.—they brought crowds of custom to the shop; and in two or three years he was enabled to convert his little business into a handsome fancy store. An attraction was then added to the establishment which diverted a portion of the public admiration from Sultan and the monkey; this was a Dutch clock with a goodly portion of gilding, and two or three white and red figures in front; before striking it played a waltz. It was inestimable; this music had never been heard in the west, and those who have been brought up amidst the everlasting grinding of our present museums can have no conception of the excitement caused by our chevalier's clock. In those days every unique piece of furniture or rare toy was believed to have formed a part of the spolia opima of the French revolution, and most generally they were set down as the property of the Queen of France. It was soon insinuated abroad that the Chevalier's clock formed one of the rare ornaments of the Boudoir of the unfortunate Maria Antoinette. When he was asked how much it cost, he evaded the question with admirable casuistry. "Ah, mon ami," he would say with sincere tristease, "the French revolution produce some terrible effect; it was worth fifteen hundred franche guiney." That, and the dog and the monkey were worth to the chevalier 15,000 dollars, for he realized this sum in a few years, from a foundation of a few pounds of sugar and a peck of hazelnuts.

Such was the chevalier DuBac in his Magazin, and he was a perfect illustration of the French character of that day; it would accommodate itself to any situation in life; it enabled the Minister of Marine to become, like Bedredden, a pastry cook, and young Egalite, the present King of France, a schoolmaster in Canada. But this is only one side of the picture; DuBac, when he closed his shop, and entered into society, was the delight of his auditory; he was an accomplished scholar, possessed the most polished manners and habits of "lavieille cour." He was a younger son or as the French people call it, he was the 'cadet' of a noble family.

He had traveled much and observed profoundly. He had been to the 'Holy Land,' not exactly as a plamer, but being 'attache' a la legation Francaise' at Constantinople, of which his relation, Sauf Boeuf, was the head, he took the opportunity of traveling through as much of Asia as was usually examined by European travelers.

Such was my early friend DuBac, to whose instructions and fine belles lettres acquirements I am indebted for some of the most unalloyed enjoyments of my life, by opening to me some of the richest treasurers of French literature; and such was the man whom the sons of Orleans found in a frontier American village. I do not remember the definite destination of the interesting strangers; but certain it is, that the chevalier DuBac induced them to while away a much longer period in Pittsburgh than could have been their original intention. He proposed to General Neville, whose house was always the temple of hospitality, where he was in the habit of dining every Sunday, and at whose table and fireside the unfortunate emigre was sure to find a hearty welcome, to introduce the travelers. The General at first received the proposition with sadness. He said he had been a soldier of the Revolution, the intimate of Rochambeau and Lafayette, and of course entertained a feeling of the deepest respect for the memory of the unfortunate Louis, not as a monarch, but as a most amiable and virtuous man. He insisted that no good could spring from the infamous exciter of the Jacobins, the profligate Egalite. "Mais mon General, (said the chevalier, with a shrug of the shoulders, and most melancholy contortion of his wrinkled features,) ils sont dans la plus grande misere, et ils ont ete chasse, comme nous autres, par ces vilains sans culottes." The chevalier knew his man and his bon hommie of the General prevailed. "Eh! bien! chevalier, allezrendre nos devoirs aux voyageurs, et qu 'ils dinent chez nous demain." The strangers accepted the courtesy, and became intimate with him and attached to the family of the kind hearted American; the charms of the conversation of the Duke of Orleans, and his various literary attainments, soon obliterated for the moment the horrible career of his father from the minds of his hearers. If my boyish recollection is faithful, he was rather taciturn, and melancholy; he would be perfectly abstracted from conversa-

tion, sometimes for half an hour, looking steadfastly at the coal fire that blazed in the grate, and when roused from his reverie, he would apologize for this breach of bienseance, and call one of the children who were learning French to read to him. On these occasions I have read to him many passages selected by him, from Telemaque; the beautiful manner in which he read the description of Calypso's Grotto is still fresh in my memory. He seldom adverted to the scenes of the revolution, but he criticised the battles of that period, particularly that of Jemmapes, with such discrimination as to convince the military men of Pittsburgh, of whom there were several, that he was peculiarly fitted to shine in the profession of arms.

Montpensier, the second brother, has left no mark on the tablet of memory by which I can recall him; but Beaujolais, the young and interesting Beaujolais, is still before my mind's eye. There was something romantic in his character, and Madame deGenis' romance, the 'Knights of the Swan,' in which that charming writer so beautifully apostrophises her young ward, had just prepared every youthful bosom to lean towards this accomplished boy. He was tall and graceful, and playful as a child. He was a universal favorite.—He was a few years older than myself; but when together, we appeared to be of the same age. A transient blush of melancholy would occasionally pass over his fine features, in the midst of his gayest amusements, but it disappeared quickly, like the white cloud of summer. We then ascribed it to a boyish recollection of the luxuries and splendors of the Palais Royal, in which he had passed his early life, which he might be contrasting with the simple domestic scene which was passing before him. It was, however, probably in some measure imputable to the first sensation of that disease, which, in a few short years afterwards, carried him to his grave.

One little circumstance made a singular impression on me. I was standing one day with this group of Frenchmen, on the bank of the Monongahela, when a countryman of theirs, employed in the quarter master department, as a laborer in taking care of flat boats, passed by. Perre Cabot, or, as he was familiarly called, French Peter, was dressed in a blanket capot, with a hood in place of a hat, in the manner

of the Canadian boatmen, and in moccasins. DuBac called after him, and introduced him to the French princes.—The scene presented a subject for moralising even for a boy; on the banks of the Ohio, and in exile, the representative of the first family of a nation who held rank of higher importance than any other nation in Europe, took by the hand in a friendly and familiar conversation, his countryman, whose lot was cast among the dregs of the people, and who would not have aspired to the honor of letting down the steps of the carriage of the man with whom he here stood on the level.

Peter was no Jacobin—he had emigrated from France before the philanthropic Robespierre and his colleagues had enlightened their fellow citizens and opened their eyes to the propriety of vulgar brutality and ferocity. Honest Cabot, therefore, felt all the love and veneration for the Princes, which Frenchmen under the old regime never failed to cherish for members of the "grand monarque". I was a great favorite with old Peter. The next time I met him, he took me in his arms, and exclaimed, with tears in his eyes,—"Savezvous, mon enfant. ce qui m'est arrive? j'ai en Phonnour de causer avec monseigneur, en pleine rue. Ah! bon Dieu, quelle chose affreuse que la revolution."

The brothers, on quitting Pittsburgh, left a most favorable impression on the minds of the little circle in which they were received so kindly. The recollection of the amiable Beaujolais was particularly cherished; and when the news of his death in Sicily, a few years after, reached the west, the family circle of General Neville expressed the sincerest sorrow.

The Chevalier DuBac after realizing a snug fortune by industry and economy removed to Philadelphia, to have the opportunity of mingling more with his countrymen. On the restoration of the Bourbons, his friends induced him to return to France, to resume the former rank of his family. But it was too late, the philosophical emigrant had lived too long in American seclusion to relish the society of Paris, or habits had changed too much to be recognized by him.—The following is a translation of a paragraph from one of his letters to his old friend, the late General Neville, soon after his arrival in Paris.

"I am again on the stage, where the delightful days of

my early youth were passed; but, my dear General, I am not happy—I feel like the old man in one of your English tales, forty years of whose life had been spent in prison, and who had been discharged by the clemency of a new monarch, only to find that all his relatives and friends were dead, and that his own name had been forgotten; he begged the emperor to recommit him to his prison. I find myself actually sighing for the little circle of your family, and for my little magazine upon the banks of LaBelle Riviere. I am a stranger in Paris, unknowing and unknown. I am surroudned by new faces, new names, new titles, and what is more embarrassing, by new manners. What a change! The metamorphosis is worthy of the pen of Ovid—it is the transformation of the lovely and graceful nymph into the rough and rigid tree. You may accuse me of speaking like a Frenchman, but I cannot help saying that the elegance and polish of French society, so long the glory of the world, is gone forever. The few gray-headed specimens of the old court, like myself, who have returned, are insufficient to restore it. We have soirees now, but the charms of the "petits-soupers" are no more to be found. Music has not retrograded, certainly; but dancing, my dear sir, except on the stage, is nothing like what it was bono sub Ludovico. Yet do not understand me as meaning to convey the idea that, on the whole, things are no better. That wonderful man who is sent to St. Helena, although a tyrant of the first order, will have many of his sins forgiven him in this world for the liberal encouragement he gave to the arts, sciences and literature. More correct notions of government are cherished, and if the old royalists will only encourage the new king to adopt and appreciate the vast changes in society and thinking, all will go well; but I acknowledge, my dear friend, that I doubt the prudence and common sense of my old friends, particularly of those who remained in Europe. As a patriot and philosopher, I must bear witness to the improvement and advancement of my country since the revolution: as a man, however, I cannot but mourn; the storm has not left a single shrub of my once numerous family; the guillotine has drunk the blood of all my race; and I now stand on the verge of the grave, the dust of a name whose pride it once was to trace in history, thro' all the distinguished scenes of French

history, for centuries back. With the eloquent savage, Logan, whose speech you have so often read to me, I can say, that "not a drop of my blood runs in the veins of any living creature." I must return to America, and breathe my last on that soil, where my most contented days were passed."

The Chevalier never returned, however; he lingered away his time in the different seaports of France until death finally arrested his mortal career in the city of Bordeaux.

VIRGINIA

By

MARY JOHNSTON

Slow turns the water by the green marshes,
In Virginia.
Overhead the sea fowl
Make silver flashes, cry harsh as peacocks.
Capes and islands stand,
Ocean thunders,
The light houses burn red and gold stars.
In Virginia
Run a hundred rivers.
The dogwood is in blossom,
The pink honeysuckle,
The fringe tree.
My love is the ghostly armed sycamore,
My loves are the yellow pine and the white pine,
My love is the mountain linden.
Mine is the cedar.

Ancient forest,
Hemlock-mantled cliff,
Black cohosh,
Golden-rod, ironweed,
And purple farewell-summer.
Maple red in the autumn,
And plunge of the mountain brook.

The wind bends the wheat ears,
The wind bends the corn,
The wild grape to the vineyard grape
Sends the season's greetings.
Timothy, clover,
Apple, peach!
The blue grass talks to the moss and fern.

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Sapphire-shadowed, deep-bosomed, long-limbed,
Mountains lie in the garden of the sky
Evening is a passion flower, morning is a rose!

Old England sailed to Virginia,
Bold Scotland sailed,
Vine-wreathed France sailed,
And the Rhine sailed,
And Ulster and Cork and Killarney.
Out of Africa—out of Africa!
Guinea Coast, Guinea Coast,
Senegambia, Dahomey.—
Now One,
Now Virginia!

Pocahontas steals through the forest,
Along the Blue Ridge ride the Knights of the Horse-shoe,
Young George Washington measures neighbor's land from neighbor,
In the firelight Thomas Jefferson plays his violin.
Violin, violin!
Patrick Henry speaks loud in Saint John's church.
Andrew Lewis lifts his flint lock.—
O Fringed Hunting Shirt, where are you going?
George Rogers Clarke takes Kaskarkia and Vin cennes.

They tend tobacco,
And they hoe the corn,
Colored folk singing,
Singing sweetly of heaven
And the Lord Jesus.
Broad are the tobacco leaves,
Narrow are the corn blades,
Little blue morning glories run through the corn fields

Sumach, sumach!
Blue-berried cedar,
Persimmon and pawpaw,

Chinquepin
Have you seen the 'possum?
Have you seen the 'coon?
Have you heard the whippoorwill?
Whippoorwill! Whippoorwill!
Whip—poor—will!

White top wagons
Rolling westward.
Bearded men
Looking westward.
Women, children,
Gazing westward.
Kentucky!
Ohio!
Halt at eve and build the fire.
Dogs,
Long guns,
Household gear.
'Ware the Indian!
White top wagons going westward.

Edgar Allan Poe
Walking in the moonlight,
In the woods of Albemarle,
'Neath the trees of Richmond,
Pondering names of women,
Annabel—Annie,
Lenore—Ulalume.

Maury, Maury!
What of Winds and Currents?
Maury, Maury,
Ocean rover!
But when you come to die,
"Carry me through Goshen Pass
When the rhododendron is in bloom!"

Men in gray,
Men in blue,
Very young men,

Meet by a river.
Overhead are fruit trees.
"Water—water!
We will drink, then fight."—
"O God, why do we
Fight anyhow?
It's a good swimming hole
And the cherries are ripe!"
Bronze men on bronze horses,
Down the long avenue,
They ride in the sky,
Bronze men.
Stuart cries to Jackson,
Jackson cries to Lee,
Lee cries to Washington.
Bronze men,
Great soldiers.

The church bells ring,
In Virginia.
Sonorous,
Sweet,
In the sunshine,
In the rain.
Salvation! It is Sunday.
Salvation! It is Sunday,
In Virginia.
Locust trees in bloom,
Long grass in the church yard,
June bugs zooning round the roses,
First bell—second bell!
All the ladies are in church
Now the men will follow,
In Virginia,
In Virginia!
—*The Reviewer.*

GENERAL JOHN GIBSON

By

JOHN B. GIBSON

Pennsylvania has no great men. The compelling reason is that Pennsylvanians have the ever gracious and endearing gift of remembering and reciting with microscopic clarity and exactness the misfortunes and regretful phases of their great men's lives.

Had Massachusetts, Virginia, Kentucky or Ohio such giants as Muhlenberg, Wilmot, Curtin, Speaker Randall or "Pigiron" Kelly these states would be studded with memorials in their honor.

Pittsburgh is highly endowed with this beneficent talent and achieves sometimes complete obliteration of all remembrance of her notables. It names its newest and presumably its finest hotel William Penn: poor old Arthur St. Clair—Major General United States Army—President of the Continental Congress—Governor of the Northwest Territory, in his old age left to eke out a miserable existence keeping tavern at Ligonier, is forgotten now, as he was then by a grateful constituency. Wayne Street has a number; Hand Street has a number: St. Clair Street has a number and so on down the line like stalls in the market house.

Boston can have its Choate; Philadelphia its Binney and Dougherty and Cassiday but how many Pittsburghers of this generation ever hear of Walter Forward or William Wilkins or James Mountain or Thomas Mellon or George Shiras or Wilson McCandless or Thomas M. Marshall or Robert M. Gibson or James P. Barr or James Mills or John I. Nevin or Samuel P. Langley or Otto Wuth or William Metcalf or Stephen C. Foster or Richard Realf.

I am led to these reflections by the various references of late in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* to General John Gibson who played a not inconspicuous part in the early history of the town and the western country.

John Gibson was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 23rd. 1740. His father, George Gibson, a Scotchman from Antrim, in the north of Ireland, came to this country prior to 1730 and his location and "Hickory Tree" tavern on the banks of the Conestoga was known as Gibson's Ford before it grew into the town and now city of Lancaster.

Lancaster was the frontier; the trade in peltry and Indian supplies centered there and moved thence to and from Philadelphia and the ports on Delaware and Chesapeake. George Gibson's petitions to the Quaker government for road improvements are not unlike those we read today. He was one of the petitioners for the erection of Cumberland County from a part of Lancaster to the end of making quicker and at less cost the securing of justice.

Clad in homespun, armed with a flint lock and a woodsman's axe, men labored in the fields and cleared the forests; alert days filled with dauntless courage and clear eyed forward looking faith; homespun men, living in log huts with puncheon floors, in the heat of summer and the dread cold of winter clearing the forests and sowing and reaping their crops from between the stumps. These were the men who a little later achieved Bushy Run and Point Pleasant and stretched the Saxon domain from the Savage Mountains to the Mississippi; battles not less dominant in their influence than were Lexington and Yorktown.

The shattered and panic stricken forces of Braddock retreating under Dunbar to Fort Cumberland, "going" in the words of old Governor Dinwiddie, "going into winter quarters in the middle of the summer", a Scotch boy speeding through the forests spread the news of the great disaster that the frontier might arm against the French and Indian foe. This is his message and one has only to pause a moment to feel the breathless, anxious haste and anguish in which the note was penned:

July 17, 1755

Sir: I thought it proper to let you know that I was in the Battle where we were defeated. And we had about Eleven hundred and fifty private Men beside officers and others. And we was attack'd the 9th. day about Twelve o'clock and held till about Three in the afternoon. And then we were forced

to retreat when I suppose we might bring about 300 whole Men besides a vast many wounded or killed. Gen. Braddock is wounded but I hope not mortal. And Sir John St. Clair and many others but I hope not mortal. All the train is cut off in a Manner. Sir Peter Halket and his son, Capt. Polson, Capt. Gethen, Capt. Rose, Capt. Tatten killed and many others. Capt. Ord of the Train is wounded but I hope not mortal. We lost all our artillery entirely and everything else.

To Mr. John Smith and Buchannon and give it to the next post and let him show this to George Gibson at Lancaster and Mr. Bingham at the sign of The Ship and You'll oblige Yours to command

John Campbell, Messenger.

P. S. And from that to be told the Indian King.

N. B. The above directed to Mr. Smith and Buchannon in Carlisle.

"Show this to George Gibson at Lancaster and Mr. Bingham at the sign of 'The Ship' and from that to be told at the 'Indian King' ".

Massachusetts writes odes and builds piles to the memory of Paul Revere: glorious John Campbell of Pennsylvania unhonored and unsung lies forgotten in the dust from which he sprang.

In 1758 when General Forbes assembled his troops at Carlisle to retrieve what Braddock had lost, John Gibson, 18 years old, was in the ranks.

Descending the Ohio below Ft. Pitt—there was at that time no distinction between the Ohio and Allegheny either by the settlers or Indians, the name "La Belle Riviere" given it by the French being merely a translation of the Iroquois "Ohio," or Delaware "Allegheny," both meaning "Fair or Beautiful River"—Gibson with a number of companions was captured by a band of Delawares and carried off to the Ohio country. A number of the captives were burned at the stake, Gibson escaping a like fate by being adopted by a squaw in lieu of her warrior son killed in battle. He remained with his foster parents a number of years.

In 1764 Col. Bouquet approaching the Delaware camp in

his march into the Ohio country received the following message:

Camp at Tuscarrawas. Oct. 14 1764

Col. Bouquet: We are glad to hear the good speeches which you made and also that our brother Capt. Pipe and Capt. John are alive and salute us. We now salute you with a good heart and shall be more glad when we meet you at Tuscarrawas; if we see our brother Pipe and John at a small distance we should think that you mean nothing but good

Linecheque, Wilopachikin, Simon Girty, Neachblan, Wininum, Neclaw, Sunfish, Capt. Wise, Capt. Jacob, Jescessa, Thomas Hickman, Capt. Killbuck.

The above wrote by Mr. Gibson a prisoner among them.

All of the captives, including Gibson, some 200 in number held by the Delawares, Senacas, and Shawanese were surrendered to Bouquet and eventually reached Pittsburgh.

The Scotch of the Cumberland Valley were in almost constant turmoil with the Quaker government owing to the latter's neglect and oft times refusal to bear an equitable share in the defence of the frontier and their contention that being "proprietaries" under King Charles' charter they were exempt from taxation, and with the King's soldiers who were accused of engaging in illicit trade with the Indians, selling them rifles and other warlike supplies. More than once the settlers threatened to turn their rifles against Philadelphia and when a Quaker asked Robert Fulton, father of Robert Fulton of steamboat fame, if he thought they would do such a thing, the old gentlemen replied: "They certainly will; they are the kin of the bloodthirsty Presbyterians who cut off King Charles' head." The situation grew so tense in 1765 the settlers assaulted Fort Loudoun, captured and held its commanding officer for ransom.

When released from captivity with the Delawares Gibson located at Pittsburgh and engaged in the Indian trade. Wishing to transport a stock of goods to his posts in the west he received the following "passport" from the settlers committee who had taken matters into their own hands:

June 1st, 1765.

Viz. 3 caggs wine 20 loads dry goods

1 cagg sugar — 1 load of trunks
34 caggs rum & spirits — 23 weeding hoes.

We the subscribers being chosen by John Gibson with the consent and approbation of John Allison and John Rannalls Esqrs. to Inspect a quantity of Licquors. Dry goods &c which goods the said Gibson is about to carry to Ft. Pitt, In pursuance whereof we have examined all the loads included in the above invoice and have found no warlike stores or any article that in our opinion can be any advantage or enable the Indians to point their arms against the frontier inhabitants. Robert Smith
Francis Patterson

Cumberland County, SS.

To all his Majestys Liedge subjects to whom these presents shall come: with the concurrance and approbation of John Allison and John Rannalls Esqrs. you are hereby and in his Majesty's name to permit ye above named John Gibson with seven drivers and forty-one horses and Loading to pass unmolested as far as Ft. Bedford and to ye Alleganea mountain on his way to Ft. Pitt they behaving themselves soberly and inoffensively as becomes loyal subjects. Given under my hand and seal Wm. Smith
being one of his Majestys
Justice of the Peace for said
County this 1st. day of June 1765.

Gibson had trading posts not only at Pittsburgh but throughout the western country. In 1765 he received permission from Col. Reid, Commandant at Ft. Pitt "to occupy and build upon a Lott in the New Town of Pittsburgh on payment of Twenty shillings yearly subject to such regulations as may be ordered by the Commander in Chief or by the Commanding officer of the District for the good of his Majesty's service." He was at Logstown (about where Economy now stands) in 1769 and in 1771 built a house and cleared 30 acres of land opposite Logstown; this 30 acres being part of 300 acres which he won in a lottery and which embraced the "old Indian Corn field." He had a home and a Delaware wife at King Newcomers Town on the Musking-

um and with the Delaware Chief White Eyes accompanied John Lacy thereto in 1773.

Gibson was present at the Indian council held near the present town of Chillicothe, Ohio, following the crushing defeat of the allied tribes by Gen. Andrew Lewis and his Virginia frontiersmen at Point Pleasant, Virginia. (West Va.) Oct. 10th. 1774.

Logan-Tagajute—a Delaware Chief whose terrible reprisals against the frontier for the murder of his family by Daniel Greathouse the previous May had opened the war, refused to attend the council. Gibson was dispatched to bring him in, when Logan, under an oak in the forest delivered the famous address refered to by Jefferson in his "Notes" as the most eloquent of all the Indian speeches.

> I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the white man my countrymen pointed as they passed and said 'Logan is the friend of the white man'. I had even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Gresap (x) the last spring in cold blood and unprovoked murdered all the relations of Logan not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of Logan's blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. Logan would not turn upon his heel to save his life: for who is there to mourn for Logan now? Not one.

One cannot read these proud stately sentences without thinking the man who received and translated them from the dark gutteral Lenno Lenape (True Men) to the dignified easy flowing Anglo Saxon was no mean master of both.

The rumblings of the coming storm had reached the valley of the Scioto. Before leaving their mountain homes the Virginians had heard of Dunmore's dissolution of the

House of Burgesses for resolving to keep the day of the closing of the Port of Boston as a day of fasting and prayer. Their work having been done; their object accomplished and their dead buried on the banks of the Ohio at Fort Gower (Hockingport, Ohio) in the brown autumn, with none to witness save the silent river, the reddening forest and the gray skies above, the officers of Lewis' little army met and "having concluded campaign with honor and advantage to the Colony" and further "that we are a respectable body is certain when it is considered we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but the canopy of heaven and that our men can shoot with any in the known world" unanimously resolved:

> "That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third while his Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will at the expense of life and every thing dear and valuable exert ourselves in support of the honor of his crown and the dignity of the British Empire, but as the love of Liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defence of American Liberty and for the support of her just rights and privileges."

These resolutions were printed in the *Virginia Gazette* and no one knew better than Dunmore what privations they would endure and no one knew better than he how straight they could shoot.

Returning to Pittsburgh, Gibson, recognizing the sovereignty of Virginia accepted from Governor Dinwiddie an appointment as Justice of the Peace for West Augusta as all of Pennsylvania west of the mountains was called by those who adhered to the Virginia side of that controversy and with his fellow Justices George Croghan, John Campbell, John Connolly, Dorsey Pentecost and Thomas Smallman organized Feb. 21st, 1775, the first court held in Pittsburgh. The court remained in session only four days and adjourned to Staunton, Virginia. The next "Court Day" was May 16th. 1775, on which day the citizens formed a Committee of Correspondence of which Gibson was a member and on the

same day he was elected Colonel of the Virginia Regiment enlistment for which began at once in the wide territory in which he traded.

He and his command served under Washington in New York and in the retreat through the Jerseys and later, on account of his knowledge of the Indian character and language, he was transferred to the Western Department then under command of Brig. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh with headquarters at Fort Pitt.

The Treaty of Pittsburgh, concluded Sept. 17th, 1778, and which preserved the whole western country to the revolting colonies, was negotiated by Gen. Andrew Lewis and his brother Thomas, Cimmissioners on the part of Virginia, (the Penna. Commissioner was not present at any time during the negotiations) and on the part of the Delawares by

Koquethagechton	or White Eyes
Hopocan	or Capt. Pipe
Gelemend	or Capt. Killbuck

and witnessed by

Lachlan McIntosh	Brig. Gen.
Daniel Broadhead	Col. Penna. Reg.
W. Crawford	Col.
John Stevenson	
Jno. Gibson	Col. 13th. Virginia Reg.
A. Graham	Ensign
Benj. Mills	Ist. Lieut. 8th. North Carolina
Lachlan McIntosh, Jr.	Brigade Inspector

Closing the negotiations Sept. 16th. White Eyes addressed the Commissioners as follows:

> Brothers: You desired us in the speech you made to us yesterday, that if we could think of anything for the advantage of both of us, that we would mention it. We now request that the Wise Brethren in Congress may be informed that it is our particular request that Col. John Gibson may be appointed to have charge of all matters between you and us. We esteem him as one of ourselves; he has always acted an honest part by us and we are convinced he will make our common good his chief study and not think only how he may get rich. We desire also that he may have charge of and take care of the

> Warriors of our people who may join you in the present expedition. When we were last in Philadelphia our Wise Brethren in Congress may remember we desired them to send schoolmasters to our Towns to instruct our children; as we think it will be for our mutual interest we request it may be complied with.

It would seem from White Eyes remarks that ignoring campaign promises on the part of the Wise Brethren in Congress is not a matter of recent growth.

The reduction of Detroit, the expedition referred to by White Eyes, was a pet project of Gen. McIntosh and one warmly endorsed by both the Pennsylvania and Virginia authorities, but the difficulties encountered in securing an adequate army and supplies therefor for a march of 300 miles through a hostile and sparsely cultivated country forced its abandonment as later it was abandoned when fathered by Thomas Jefferson and George Rodgers Clark. Had Clark succeeded in raising an army and the needed supplies, Gibson would have been second in command as his release for that service was personally solicited by Jefferson from Baron Steuben, with whom Gibson was hastening along the south bank of the James to intercept Benedict Arnold, who had already burned Richmond.

Gibson succeeded Col. Broadhead in command of the Western Department in 1780 and was himself succeeded in the fall of 1781 by Brig. Gen. Irvine. He served to the end of the war and was promoted to the rank of Brig. General by Congressional resolution Sept. 30th. 1783.

Yorktown surrendered and the Treaty of Paris accomplished Gibson beat his sword into a bung starter and returned to his trade at Pittsburgh which in a few years grew to enormous proportions as witness the following from the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Aug. 20th. 1786.

> From the 6th. of July last to the 10th. inst. (a period of 35 days) the following peltry was bought up by one trader in this place and mostly paid for in whiskey and flour, notes and other evidences of debt.
>
> 3173 summer deer skins — 15 wild cat skins
> 94 bear skins — 74 fall deer skins

84 beaver skins	37 elk skins
14 marten skins	29 fox skins
17 wolf skins	16 panther skins
67 pairs moccasins	

There was no money in the country; the money of the United States was worthless and that of the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia but little better. "Pieces of Eight"—the Spanish milled dollar, had long since disappeared. Trade was by barter and if the hunter and trapper did not take the whole value of his "catch" in supplies he was given a certificate in writing by the Trader acknowledging the number and kind of skins received which certificate passed current as a medium of exchange. Army Quartermasters bought supplies and paid for them with certificates expressed in terms of skins instead of money, as witness the following countersigned by Gibson when in command at Ft. Laurens, Ohio (Bolivar, Ohio).

> I do certify that I am indebted to the bearer, Captain Johnny , Seven bucks and one doe for the use of the States, this 12th. day of April, 1779.
>
> Samuel Sample,
> Asst. Q. M.
>
> The above is due him for pork for the use of the garrison at Ft. Laurens.
>
> Jno. Gibson, Col.

It has been surmissed that the use of the term "wildcat", as applied to various kinds of precarious promotion and financing, had its origin with this use of skins as money, and there is not much question that our present slang word "buck," meaning a dollar, had a similar origin.

In 1910 the Bank of Pittsburgh celebrated its centennial anniversary as the earliest established bank west of the Alleghany mountains, forgetting or ignoring the fact that in 1784 at "Falls of Ohio"—Louisville, Ky.—in a house boat, high and dry on the banks of the river where it had been left by a receding flood, and fastened to a stump with a rope, one John Sanders established a bank, or "Keep," as he called it, as witness the following certificate of deposit:

> Know all men by these presents, that Daniel Boone hath deposited six (VI) beaver skins in my keep in good order and of the worth of VI shillings each

skin and i have took from them VI shillings for the keep of them and when they be sold i will pay the ballance of XXX shillings for the whole lot to any person who presents this certificate and delivers it up to me at my Keep, Louisville, Falls of Ohio. May 20th. 1784.

John Sanders

Apparently Banker Sanders understood "bank interest" as well as any of his successors. He had however none of the modern aids to banking; no compulsory reserves; no Bank Examiner to throw out collateral or call for new or better endorsers and incidentally no Federal Reserve Bank to which he could pass the "buck", but it is not recorded that he ever failed to promptly meet all his obligations.

Gibson with Gen. Richard Butler as fellow Commissioner in behalf of Pennsylvania purchased from the Six Nations their title to the "Erie Triangle"—the triangular country jutting into Lake Erie surrounding the City of Erie.

He was a member of the convention which framed the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 and on Aug. 17th. 1791 became one of the Lay Judges of the Courts of Allegheny County. This was the court presided over as Law Judge by the famous Alexander Addison whose controversy with J. B. C. Lucas led to the former's impeachment, trial and conviction before the Senate of Pennsylvania. Lucas afterward removed to St. Louis, Mo., and was appointed Judge of the United District Court. The site of Judge Lucas' old home is now the site of the Carnegie Library and one block from St. Louis' "Congested District". When Judge Lucas built he was warned he was too far out; that the Indians would have his scalp within three months.

Quietly pursuing his trade, but ever loyal to the Government he had helped to establish, the Whiskey Insurrection found Gibson in disfavor with those who led that abortive attempt to destroy that which had cost so much to confirm and he was expelled the country.

Pittsburgh, Aug. 4 1794.

This is to certify to all whom it may concern that the bearer hereof Gen. John Gibson has been directed to depart the country by order of the Committee of the Batallions of Washington, Fayette, West-

moreland and Allegheny Counties assembled at Braddock's Field the 2nd. inst. which sentence the Committee of Pittsburgh was to carry into effect and to furnish him with a guard to a proper distance. Let him therefore pass in safety and without molestation.

James Clow,
Chairman.

Bradford's flight to the French possessions at the mouth of the Mississippi and the collapse of the Insurrection found Gibson again a trader until 1800 when he was appointed by President Jefferson Secretary of the newly formed Territory of Indiana, in which capacity he remained until Indiana was admitted as a state in 1816. He arrived at Vincennes, the Territorial capital, in July, 1800, and was Acting Governor until the arrival in January, 1801, of William Henry Harrison.

Indiana at that time embraced all of the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan. Vincennes, the capital, was a long established French town with a newspaper and an academy and was the home of many French of Education and refinement. The Territory boasted only about 5000 whites but was inhabited by numerous and warlike tribes of Indians at the head of which was the renowned Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet and Medicine Man Pemsquatawah.

Gen. Harrison's frequent and prolonged absences from the capital fighting Indians was the occasion of Gibson being often called upon as Acting Governor. He was now over sixty years of age and his fighting days were over. This did not prevent him from taking an active part in all negotiations with the Indians and he was present during the famous interview between Tecumseh and Harrison. When the Indian Chief angrily interrupted Harrison and turned, to harangue his assembled warriors, Gibson who alone understood Tecumseh's sinister words, ordered up the guard and prevented a massacre. Similarly he was enabled at 72 years of age to relieve Capt. (afterward President) Zachary Taylor beleaguered at Ft. Harrison. Gibson County, Indiana, is named in his honor.

On admission of Indiana as a state in 1816 Gibson returned to Pittsburgh and his home near Braddock's Field, where he died April 16th. 1822. His remains lie buried in Allegheny Cemetery, Pittsburgh.

St. Louis, Dec. 12th. 1920.

NOTES AND QUERIES

RATES OF TOLL ON THE PENNSYLVANIA CANAL IN 1831

On dry goods, merchandise, and oysters, per ton, and cord-wood per cord, 3 cents per mile—and on all articles not specifically enumerated, passing northward or westward, the same.

On bark, in rafts, per cord, boards, sawed stuff, and timber in rafts, per 1000—deer, buffalo, and moose skins, household furniture, groceries, castings, blooms, and anchovies, rosin, tar, whiskey, and window glass, per ton, 2 cents per mile.

On pot and pearl ashes, agricultural products not specified, instruments of husbandry, (for individual use), salted-beef, pork, and fish, butter, barley, wheat, rye, corn, oats, and flax-seed, clover-seed, flour, cider, beer, charcoal, cotton, grind-stones, gypsum, hemp, hempen, yarn, pig iron, broken castings, white lead, rough marble, lime-stones, French burrs, salt, slate, tiles, leaf tobacco, heading, staves and hoop poles (in rafts), wood in boats, 1½ cents per ton per mile. On all articles not specified, going southward or eastward, the same rates per ton per mile.

On boards, plank, &c., in boats or scows, if going up stream, per 1000, and pig lead per ton, 1¼ cents per mile.

On bark in boats, per cord—boards, planks, &c., in boats, going down stream, per 1000, hay, iron, ore, lime, split laths, posts and rails, in rafts—dressed stone—straw per ton—shingles per 1000 (in rafts) timber in boats and scows. per 100 per cubic feet, 1 cent per mile.

On bricks, stones, heading and hoop poles, in boats or scows, ¾ of a cent per mile.

On pot and pearl ashes, clay, earth, gravel, and undressed stone, 6 mills per ton per mile.

On posts and rails, and shingles, if conveyed in boats and scows, half a cent per ton per mile.

On each boat for passengers, made and used chiefly as such, 25 cents per mile,—8 cents a mile for the boat and ¾ of a cent for each passenger of 12 years of age, at the option of the owner, making his choice at the commencement of the season. On each boat made and used for freight and passengers jointly, 5 cents per mile. On boats for freight exclusively, 3 cents per mile,—and on each passenger, on board of freight boats, half a cent per mile.

For passing outlet locks, at Middletown, every loaded ark, 1 dollar—loaded boat, 75 cents—empty ark or boat, 50 cents. On lumber in rafts or platforms, 8 mills per 1000, board measures. *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 20, 1831.

LINES OF POET FAIL TO SAVE THE "TREE THAT SHELTERED HIM"

NEW YORK, Feb. 4, 1922—The two great sycamores in the rear of the Woodward mansion at 462 West Twenty-second street, which once sheltered George Pope Morris, author of "Woodman, Spare That Tree," stand stripped as naked as the masts of a wrecked ship. Morris' lines could save them no longer.

Not a bough of the old trees was left untouched. They were cut, limb from limb, by woodmen of the Davy Tree Expert Company to prevent their falling.

The trees were more than 300 years old, but died two years ago through neglect. They shaded the house in old Chelsea where a British general once hid in escaping during Washington's occupation of New York. The place is now a girl's boarding school—*The Gazette Times.*

The Figure in the Crisis.

It should have been stated, in connection with Col. John P. Penney's article in the July, 1922, number of this magazine, on "The Critical Period in Pennsylvania History," that the speaker of the senate who was the main figure in that crisis was Col. Penney's father, Hon. John P. Penney.

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